000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

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[101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the
period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay
in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca
River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría
[124] Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant
[614] and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively,
[615] two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/
Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the
361 existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one
197 another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since
they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It
619 could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of
615 tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other
571 phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in
* 574 Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who
[601] did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the corre-
[101] spondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers
(Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they
belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá
(Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the
615 Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged
197 to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and
124 on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest
of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great
114 distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá
Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four
[124] phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor,
as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the
Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman
of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

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According to Kinship -- Cross cousins and parallel cousins are distinguished. No distinction is made between real brothers and parallel cousins. In the second ascending generation, the relationship is not differentiated between grandfathers and grandmothers, with the exception of the sister of the father of the father or Ego, who is designated with an isolating term. In the second descending generation, the relationship that Ego might have with his grandsons and granddaughters is not differentiated, be they real or classificatory. There are new kinship terms to designate relatives who do not follow the canon of marriage between cross cousins with the interchange of brother with sister.

/*146*/ *According to the state of life* -- There is no distinct term to designate a relative according to the state of life of the person who connects or relates by marriage this relative with Ego. Nor are different terms used to designate deceased relatives. To express the state of death of a relative, the terms *Mijí* (dead - masculine gender) and *Mejeó* (dead - feminine gender) are added to the kinship terms with which the relatives were denominated in reference (R) while they lived. Thus, for example, *Yeé Mamí Mijí* (my dead older brother), *Páre Majkó Mejeó* (the dead daughter of my brother), etc.

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PHRATRIES AND SIBS

Five phratries are found among the Tukano:

1) *Yepá Bajuári Majsá*.

2) *Miriápura Diára Majsá*.

●[614] 3) *Ñujkuá Diára Majsá*.

4) *Miriápura Bajuári Majsá*.

5) *Emeko Bajuári Majsá*.

Each one of these phratries is divided into an extensive number of sibs.

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YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

614 The sibs belonging to this phratry are located on the Paca,
[361] Papurí /Papury/ and Tiquié rivers, and on the Vaupés /Uaupés/
(197) River from the stream of Umarí to the confluence of the Vaupés
River with the Río Negro. They speak the idiom traditionally
known by the name of Tukano. The sibs that form this phratry
614 can be divided into two artificial groups that correspond to pat-
128 terns of kinship and are the following:

LIST "A"

(1)	Yúpuri Baúro	(B) (1)	(2)	Yepára Oakajpeá	(+) (2)
(3)	Yepára Oyé	(B)	(4)	Yepára Suí	(C) (3)

1. The B in front /sic/ of the name of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Brazilian territory.

2. The + in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib has disappeared.

3. The C in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Colombian territory.

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(5)	Bejsémi Kuiseré	(C)	(6)	Ajúsiro Sóbaro	(B)
(7)	Suí Makúpi	(C)	(8)	Ajkíto Ñetedejká	(C)
(9)	Kemáru Isiadejpuá	(+)	(10)	Yúpuri Pamó	(B)
(11)	Yepára Merú	(C)	(12)	Yúpuri Uajsóro Marí	(C)
(13)	Sérvi Bojsé	(C)	(14)	Doétiro Mimisipé	(C)
(15)	Ajkíto Patíro	(C)	(16)	Kemáru Kukú	(C)
(17)	Urémiri Sióropo Bayá	(B)	(18)	Urémiri Sáraro	(C)
(19)	Parisí	(B)	(20)	Yúpuri Búbera	(B)
(21)	Ajúsiro Merí	(B)	(22)	Ñajóri Dipé	(B)
(23)	Yáitoro	(C)	(24)	Urémiri Sakuró	(C)
(25)	Buú Púra	(B)	(26)	Suí Amoperí	(B)
(27)	Ajúsiro Túro	(B)	(28)	Arú Perí	(B)

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(29) Bojsóka Perí	(B)	(30) Ajkíto Kuá	(B)
(31) Buú Papéra Púra	(B)	(32) Ajkíto Báya Púra	(B)
(33) Kemáru Baá Púra	(B)	(34) Ajkíto Yujuró	(B)
(35) Suí Ajpuékeri	(B)	(36) Bujpuá Púra	(B)

LIST "B"

(37) Umu Sasí	(C)	(38) Ñajkéro	(+)
(39) Ñajpóbi	(+)	(40) Mío Putí	(C)
(41) Bojsoágue	(B)	(42) Dutá Púra	(B)
(43) Dóe Ñijkáro	(B)	(44) Niká Dejkayái	(+)
(45) Wuá Kúmu	(B)	(46) Kemáru Dasíri	(B)
(47) Dóe Diáti Kúmu	(C)	(48) Urémiri Karerí	(C)
(49) Ajkíto Bitóro	(C)	(50) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu	(B)

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Kinship terms Used among the Component Sibs of LIST "A"

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In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-36), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, the third one calls the fourth one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá. In numerical order and ascending chronologically (36-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

Kinship Terms Used among the Component Sibs of LIST "B"

In numerical order and descending chronologically (37-50), /148/ the first calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (50-37), the last one calls the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one calls the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

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Kinship Terms Used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B"

In a given generation, all the individual members of the component sibs of LIST "A" denominate all the individual members, of the same generation, of the component sibs of LIST "B": Pajké-Ró.

In a given generation, all the individual members of the component sibs of LIST "B" denominate all the individual members, of the same generation, of the component sibs of LIST "A": Yeé Párame.

In descending and ascending generations the kinship system and the kinship terms continue as if all the components of LIST "A" were blood brothers and all the components of LIST "B" were blood brothers, in a given generation. As for the kinship terms used between the components of LIST "A" and the components of LIST "B," in ascending and descending generations, the kinship system and the kinship terms continue as if the components of LIST "B" were the grandparents of the components of LIST "A." In all these cases age and sex are distinguished.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "A."

(1) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls Suí Ajpuékeri: Mé.

(2) Suí Ajpuékeri calls the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Meké.

(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Suí Ajpuékeri: Nijiá, since Yúpuri Baúro calls Suí Ajpuékeri: Nijiá.

(4) The son of Suí Ajpuékeri calls the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Mamí, since Suí Ajpuékeri denominates Yúpuri Baúro: Mamí.

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(5) Yúpuri Baúro calls the daughter of Suí Ajpuékeri: Majkó. Suí Ajpuékeri denominates the daughter of Yúpuri Baúro: Majkó.

(6) The daughter of Yúpuri Baúro calls Suí Ajpuékeri: Mengué. The daughter of Suí Ajpuékeri calls Yúpuri Baúro: Mengué.

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*601 ● 614 (7) The sons of Yúpuri Baúro call the sister of Suí Ajpuékeri: Uaméu. The sons of Suí Ajpuékeri call the sister of Yúpuri Baúro: Uaméu.
Etc.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mé.
(2) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Meké.
(3) The son of Umu Sasí calls the son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá, since Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the son of Umu Sasí: Mamí, since Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates Umu Sasí: Mamí.
(5) Umu Sasí calls the daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Majkó. Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the daughter of Umu Sasí: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mengué. The daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls Umu Sasí: Mengué.
(7) The sons of Umu Sasí call the sister of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Uaméu. The sons of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu call the sister of Umu Sasí: Uaméu.

Examples of kinship terms used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Yúpuri Baúro: Meké, since the father of Yúpuri Baúro and the son of Umu Sasí are siblings.
(2) Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mé.
(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls the son of Umu Sasí: Pajké-Ró.
(4) The son of Umu Sasí denominates the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Yeé Párame.

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MIRIAPURA DIARA MAJSA

614 [615] [361] [197] The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Pirá-paraná, Apaporis, Cananarí, and Tuy. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Carapaná. It consists of the following sibs:

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(1) *Mumiá Pajkáre*	(†)	(2) *Mumiá Dayágue*	(†)
(3) *Mujteá Pajkáre*	(C)	(4) *Mujteá Dayágue*	(C)
(5) *Duriá Pajkáre*	(C)	(6) *Duriá Dayágue*	(C)
(7) *Poitáñare*	(C)	(8) *Paréroa*	(C)
(9) *Eruria*	(C)	(10) *Dajseá Kawíria*	(C)
(11) *Buá Majsé*	(C)	(12) *Bujpuá Majsé*	(C)
(13) *Séra Majsé*	(C)	(14) *Yajuána*	(C)

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Kinship Terms Used among the Component Sibs of the Miriápura Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-13), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., *Nijiá.*

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (13-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., *Mamí.*

The sibs numbered from 1 to 13 denominate 14 (*Yajuána*): *Pajké-Ró.*

Number 14 (*Yajuána*) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-13): *Yeé Párame.*

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Diára Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of *Mumiá Pajkáre* denominates *Séra Majsé*: *Mé.*
(2) *Séra Majsé* denominates the son of *Mumiá Pajkáre*: *Meké.*
(3) The son of *Mumiá Pajkáre* denominates the son of *Séra Majsé*: *Nijiá*, since *Mumiá Pajkáre* denominates *Séra Majsé*: *Nijiá.*
(4) The son of *Séra Majsé* calls the son of *Mumiá Pajkáre*: *Mamí*, since *Mumiá Pajkáre* /*sic*/ calls *Séra Majsé*: *Mamí.*
(5) *Mumiá Pajkáre* calls the daughter of *Séra Majsé*: *Majkó.* *Séra Majsé* calls the daughter of *Mumiá Pajkáre*: *Majkó.*
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(6) The daughter of *Mumiá Pajkáre* calls *Séra Majsé*: *Mengué.* The daughter of *Séra Majsé* calls *Mumiá Pajkáre*: *Mengué.*

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●614 (7) The sons of Mumiá Pajkáre denominate the sister of Séra Majsé: Uaméu. The sons of Séra Majsé denominate the sister of Mumiá Pajkáre: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Yajuána denominates Mumiá Pajkáre: Meké, since the father of Mumiá Pajkáre and the son of Yajuána are siblings.

(9) Mumiá Pajkáre calls the son of Yajuána: Mé.

(10) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates the son of Yajuána: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Yajuána calls the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Yeé Párame.

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ÑUJKUA DIARA MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located at the headwaters of the Tiquié River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Barasano. It consists of the following sibs:

(1) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé – Bará Majsé (C)
(2) Buajá Ñajkoroá (C) (3) Ñujkuá (C)
(4) Uamúta Ñárague (C) (5) Uamúta Dáyaroague (C)

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Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-4), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (4-1), the last one calls the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 4 denominate 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-4): Yeé Párame.

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Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

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(1) The son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates Uamúta Ñárague: Mé.

(2) Uamúta Ñárague denominates the son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Meké.

(3) The son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the son of Uamúta Ñárague: Nijiá, since Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé calls Uamúta Ñárague: Nijiá.

(4) The son of Uamúta Ñárague denominates the son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mamí, since Uamúta Ñárague denominates Miriápura Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mamí.

(5) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the daughter of Uamúta Ñárague: Majkó. Uamúta Ñárague denominates the daughter of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Majkó.

(6) The daughter of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates Uamúta Ñárague: Mengué. The daughter of Uamúta Ñárague denominates Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mengué.

(7) The sons of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominate the sister of Uamúta Ñárague: Uaméu. The sons of Uamúta Ñárague denominate the sister of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Uamúta Dáyaroague denominates Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Meké, since the father of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé and the son of Uamúta Dáyaroague are siblings.

(9) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the son of Uamúta Dáyaroague: Mé.

(10) The son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the son of Uamúta Dáyaroague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Uamúta Dáyaroague denominates the son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Yeé Párame.

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MIRIAPURA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Isana, Querarí, Surubí, and Uainía. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Maniva. It consists of the following sibs:

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(1) Bejkári	(C)	(2) Mijpiágue	(C)
(3) Mijpiá Diára	(C)	(4) Majkápiro Púra	(C)
(5) Borékearo	(C)	(6) Petároague	(C)
(7) Majároague	(C)		

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Kinship Terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-6), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (6-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 6 denominate 7 (Majároague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Majároague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-6): Yeé Párame.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mé.

(2) Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Meké.

(3) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Petároague: Nijiá, since Bejkári denominates Petároague: Nijiá.

(4) The son of Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Mamí, since Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mamí.

(5) Bejkári denominates the daughter of Petároague: Majkó. Petároague calls the daughter of Bejkári: Majkó.

(6) The daughter of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mengué. The daughter of Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mengué.

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●614 (7) The sons of Bejkári denominate the sister of Petároague: Uaméu. The sons of Petároague denominate the sister of Bejkári: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Majároague denominates Bejkári: Meké, since the father of Bejkári and the son of Majároague are siblings.

(9) Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Mé.

(10) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Majároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Yeé Párame.

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EMEKO BAJUARI MAJSA

The component sibs of this phratry are located on the Vaupés River between the hamlet of Urania and a little above the place where the Yí River empties into the Vaupés River, and on all of the Cuduiarí River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Cubeo. It consists of the following sibs:

(1) Utíwiague	(C)	(2) Socóro Páramero	(C)
(3) Biá Déroague	(C)	(4) Purí Máriroague	(C)
(5) Aúwuewague	(C)	(6) Uejsári Téroague	(C)

*601 614 Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-5), the first one denominates the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one denominates the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (5-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 5 denominate 6 (Uejsári Téroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Uejsári Téroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-5): Yeé Párame.

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Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Utíwiague denominates Aúwuewague: Mé.
(2) Aúwuewague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Meké.
(3) The son of Utíwiague denominates the son of Aúwuewague: Nijiá, since Utíwiague calls Aúwuewague: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Aúwuewague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Mamí, since Aúwuewague calls Utíwiague: Mamí.
(5) Utíwiague denominates the daughter of Aúwuewague: Majkó. Aúwuewague calls the daughter of Utíwiague: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Utíwiague denominates Aúwuewague: Mengué. The daughter of Aúwuewague calls Utíwiague: Mengué.
(7) The sons of Utíwiague call the sister of Aúwuewague: Uaméu. The sons of Aúwuewague denominate the sister of Utíwiague: Uaméu.
/155/(8) The son of Uejsári Téroague denominates Utíwiague: Meké, since the father of Utíwiague and the son of Uejsári Téroague are siblings.
(9) Utíwiague denominates the son of Uejsári Téroague: Mé.
(10) The son of Utíwiague calls the son of Uejsári Téroague: Pajké-Ró.
(11) The son of Uejsári Téroague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Yeé Párame.

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KINSHIP TERMS USED AMONG THE COMPONENT SIBS OF THE FIVE PHRATRIES THAT FORM THE YEPA MAJSA TRIBE

Kinship terms used between the phratries:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Miriápura Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá	Miriápura Diára Majsá
LIST "A" Yúpuri Baúro Yepára Oakajpeá Yepára Oyé denominate with the term Nijiá from	Mumiá Pajkáre to Séra Majsé

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Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Mamí from
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Duriá Pajkáre

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Duriá Dayágue
to
Séra Majsé

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Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Yajuána

Yepá Bajuári Majsá
Miriápura Diára Majsá

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Yajuána

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•614 Kinship Terms Used between the Phratries:
615 Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

LIST "A"
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uamúta Dáyaroague

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

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LIST "B"
Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Uamúta Dáyaroague

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/157 cont./
Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá
Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

LIST "A"
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Yepára Oyé
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Bejkári
to
Petároague

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Mamí
Bejkári
and
Mijpiágue

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Mijpiá Diára
to
Petároague

/158/
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Majároague

*601
614
615

/158 cont./

Yepá Bajuári Majsá

Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá

Emeko Bajuári Majsá

LIST "A"

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

*601
614
615

/158 cont./

Yepá Bajuári Majsá

Emeko Bajuári Majsá

/159/

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Miriápura Diára Majsá

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uamúta Dáyaroague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

*
601
614
615

/159 cont./
Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá
Uamúta Dáyaroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.
/160/
Miriápura Diára Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Duriá Pajkáre
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Bejkári
to
Petároague

Duriá Dayágue
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Mamí
Bejkári

Duriá Dayágue
to
Paréroa
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Mijpiágue
to
Petároague

Eruria
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Mamí
Mijpiágue
and
Mijpiá Diára

*

601 /160 cont./

614 Eruria

615 to

Séra Majsé

denominate with the term Nijiá from

Majkápiro Púra

to

Petároague

Mumiá Pajkáre

to

Séra Majsé

denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

/161/

Yajuána

denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári

to

Petároague

Yajuána

denominates with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:

Miriápura Diára Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Miriápura Diára Majsá Emeko Bajuári Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre

to

Séra Majsé

denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague

to

Aúwuewague

Mumiá Pajkáre

to

Séra Majsé

denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

* 601
●614
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/161 cont./

Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from
Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá
Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Mamí from
Bejkári
to
Mijpiá Diára

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Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Majkápiro Púra
to
Petároague

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Majároague

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from
Bejkári
to
Petároague

*601
•614
615

/162 cont./
Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

Emeko Bajuári Majsá

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

/163/
Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Bajuári Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

Emeko Bajuári Majsá

Bejkári
to
Petároague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

*

601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

614 Uejsári Téroague

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes. 614 554

582 [583] 595 614 615 177 587 611 591 596 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana culture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture. The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary. Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming extended patrilineal families.

615 /164 cont./

614 Among the components of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry
178 all these models of social structure are disappearing. Today it is
177 very rare to find among the members of this phratry marriages
between cross cousins, and there have appeared, with this social
dislocation, new kinship terms that correspond to the new patterns
of marriage and kinship. It would be interesting to see to what
point the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry varies from the other Tukana
phratries, but so far it has been impossible to undertake this work.

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/341 cont./ *

539 V. Miriápura Majsá.

Yepá Huáke left six persons, three women and three men, in Diawí. And they are called Mariápura Majsá. They are in charge of the spirits of Miriá (5).

[534] 5. Of the Yuruparises. Ceremonial flutes
[784] used in the initiation ceremonies for the pubescent boys. It is forbidden for women to see these flutes.

VI. Ñebariuajtí.

In Ñamiriwí, Yepá Huáke left a male and a female who are named Ñebariauajtí. And these two beings have the same human form as Boraró and Boraró Numió. And they kill and steal people's souls in the same way as Boraró and Boraró Numió do.

VII. Sexual Relations (6).

6. Name that the interpreter insisted on giving to the myth.

Yepá Huáke left in Diawí two brothers with their papa and mama. And the four were called Bajsébo Majsá. And they left Diawí and went to Bajsebowí. Before Yúpuri Baúro (7)

[773] 7. Yúpuri Baúro is the most important
[614] mythological culture hero in Tukano /Tucano/ culture. He is also the founder of the sib /Sp. sib/ of the highest category among the Tukano.

discovered these lands, the Tukano /Tucano/ did not have children. In Bajsebowí, when the father of the Bajsébo Majsá, who

* 539 /367 cont./
or tobacco or manioc. All that I had I gave to Miriápura Turíkaro, but, since you did wrong, all that is now lost. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, is going to give you the seeds of manioc, coca, and tobacco. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, will give two little sticks to your woman (woman of Yúpuri Baúro). These little sticks will be as though stained with blood. I tell you this so that you will know. When your woman feels a blow on her body (32), it is because Yepá Uejkeó is coming with the seed.

[756]
[574]

32. According to the informant, the shaman also feels a blow on his body every time travelers arrive at a maloca.

Your woman must go immediately to the port of Diawí, and you must order all your Pamúri Majsá to turn around and look toward the back door of Diawí, all lying in their own hammocks. If you do not pay attention to me this time, you will lose the manioc seed again, just as you lost the Bajséboperi the last time. All the natives the Vaupés are like animals. Someday I will send you chickens, dogs, and pigs so that you can compare yourselves with them. I am cursing you. Look at the group of the Ereya (33) and at the group of Siópuri Uejké (34). They really are good people. /368/ They have their own chiefs and they pay attention to their chiefs. They truly obey me. Go into the maloca of Diawí." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí, and there he ordered that all the Pamúri Majsá turn to look toward the back door. And all of the Pamúri Majsá obeyed. And they obeyed Yúpuri Baúro because formerly the Tukano /Tucano/ were very respectful. And formerly Yúpuri Baúro could strike Yepára Oakajpeá (35), and Yepára

33. Brazilians.

34. Colombians.

[615]
[614]

35. In the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry.

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Yepára Oakajpeá forms the sib immediately inferior to that of Yúpuri Baúro.

Oakajpeá had to bear it. All the Mamí could strike their Nijiá (36) this way, and the Nijiá had to bear it. But since the whites arrived at the Vaupés, the Tukano have become disrespectful.

As soon as she felt the blow on her body, the woman of Yúpuri Baúro went to the port of Diawí to receive Yepá Uejkeó. And as soon as the woman of Yúpuri Baúro arrived at the port of Diawí, Yepá Uejkeó, accompanied by three more women called Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá, came upstream.

When Yepá Huáke had gone down to Diawí to speak with Yúpuri Baúro, Yepá Huáke had burned, as if by a miracle, a garden behind Diawí.

Yepá Uejkeó and Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá arrived at the port of Diawí. The woman of Yúpuri Baúro received them very politely. Each of the four women brought a stalk of manioc, only they did not give the stalks of manioc to the woman of Yúpuri Baúro, but rather they went to the garden that Yepá Huáke had burned. They went around the maloca of Diawí so that the Pamúri Majsá would not see them. When they arrived at the garden, Yepá Uejkeó stood amidst the Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá and told the woman of Yúpuri Baúro to stand back a bit and to give great care and attention to what they were going to do. The stalk of the manioc seed that Yepá Uejkeó held was called Mejká Diáran Dejké. Then Yepá Uejkeó said, throwing her stalk of manioc: "You go here, in the middle, Mejká Diáran Dejké." Then one of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying: "Batiá Dejké, you go on the right side." Then another of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying:

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36. The older brothers could strike their younger brothers.

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M /409 cont./
851 legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).
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> 4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Makú, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

T
101 Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We
582 do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because
563 of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

T Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano
582 explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the
563 Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĺ,
• 614 Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor,
[601] finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĺ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana,
T Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

582 b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of
614 one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another
T family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.
*[192] It is what is called Põãperi or põãpeseri. And the young woman will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-ra-
[601] põ nỹákhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹákhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrá-ko nỹákho (future genitress).

/409 cont./

000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

591 614 /410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws; but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 614 [611] [601] 1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2)) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kĩra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkĩra, are all the Tuyuka of the
[601] younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly,
all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkĩra who will be the Mĩ-ra-põ nỹákhõ or the Nõ'mõ nỹakho.

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619 2) Local or Territorial Group.

628 a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93) in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

614 592 621 Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahirĩwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177] With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort.
[178] For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

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93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

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621 592 •614 Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a *family*, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the *local group* as being originally an *agnatic community*. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

[178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the *maloca*; or each family has its own residence, the *povoados* resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

[594] /*459*/ In one form or another, however, the *families* constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, *autonomous* ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) *The social organization.*

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain *social organization* is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all *customary*, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tĩ, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

/459 cont./

621 perhaps one should distinguish between the different relations,
592 some of which, for example, that of exogamous marriage, might
614 have had a positive origin, and the others might be of consuetudinary origin.

Even in small groups, although perfectly and smoothly harmonized, the distinction of social assemblages, with their duties, their characteristic attributes, their peculiar directives, is easily perceptible. In each local group we can distinguish four categories of individuals: 1st, the tuxáua; 2nd, the Komũá (elders); 3rd, the men (more or less scaled by their ages and experience); 4th, the women and children.

These different categories, however, are closely connected to one another by unifying and stabilizing principles: 1st, a common house, the regime of the maloca, which, at least in the beginning, was in force as a general norm and without exception; 2nd, the provisions in common: a custom that is maintained in the maloca regime and, in a more attenuated way, also in the povoado system; 3rd, the common inheritance of the maloca, of zones for fishing and hunting, and of everything that is the property of the group; 4th, the fear of the spirits, with great unitive power, corresponding to the native mentality; 5th, vengeance, which the group will exercise against the one suspected of having caused the death of one of its members.

A further word about the first two categories of individuals is advisable.

c) "Bũxkõrá-kurá" -- (Council of elders).

622 Watching over the observance of the customs and the feasts is
623 a Council of elders, the Bũxkõrá-kurá (called Moacaretá in Nheengatú). It is made up of the Tuxaua, who is its hereditary president and also speaker and executor of its decisions, the Pajé, and two or three more /460/ men of greater ascendancy. These men are the Komũá (pl. of Komũ), as the natives express themselves, whom we saw appear (VII - 2, e (3)) as "initiates" and, up to a certain point, helping the pajé.

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197 Concerning the components of these linguistic families and their location, as well as their comparative vocabularies, see our work *Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*.

/471/ d) *Kurá or Gens*.

614 We have indicated in a previous chapter (IV - 2-a(2)) the divisions of the tribes, divisions that are called *Kurá* in the Tukano language. According to native ideas, these divisions date back to the time of the origin of the tribe, by the will of Wĩx-tĩ himself. We shall give in another place (cf. the work by the author, "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") the legend of the origins according to the account of the old *Komũ* Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira. [115]

614 121 So many questions awaiting solution arise: When did these subdivisions take place? For what reason? What was their basis or foundation? We have verified for today a phenomenon of dispersion of a nation in small groups; would there have been a fusion in the past, or can we foresee a future one? The two first questions are of historic nature, and we lack the data to answer them. We might be able to add elucidative elements to the last two.

1) From the time that a human group settles in a locale that will provide it with the necessary or even abundant means of subsistence, it will naturally become prolific. It is nomadism, at the same time cause and effect of a deficient diet, that lowers the birth rate: 1st, by the organic depauperation of the parents; 2nd, by forcing a prolonged nursing of the children (up to four or more years); 3rd, favoring certain criminal practices (abortion, infanticide, cannibalism of the children).

The human groups, growing in number, cannot remain in the same maloca. Besides the difficulties of nourishment, which we have already mentioned, the real technical difficulty of enlarging the existing maloca or the building of new and larger ones demands

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• 614 121 the division of the original group (107).

> 107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 601 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an
614 adult characterize a child as mami. It is, therefore, a matter of
a hierarchic classification.

554 An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê
[115] as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression
*[192] "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the
[601] principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia
Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy
(108).

> [175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

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614 554 [301] /footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. [304] The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions [115] in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

614 554 829 109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

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/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui príor est témpore pótior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a

[192] certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say.

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/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly; we might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

[103] One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

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173 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkȭrá bathá, literally
554 "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the
614 river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a
554 division into groups which have established themselves in closer
614 or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

[829] 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyẽ, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2)) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

/474 cont./

554 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some
• 614 are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some
schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always
[601] respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear,
614 however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical
doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say
829 who would have precedence.

797 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the
177 division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for
such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its
614 valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the
religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

/474 cont./

• 614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití /dove/, jibóia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

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[301]
[535]

2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

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3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825]

4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

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614 825 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so remarkable) from other groups. [824] One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names.

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112),

[178] 112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

614 619 There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

/476 cont./

614 619 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wãx-tĩ, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are [438] not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] [825] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any pictorial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatsoever, and even less of its titular.

[53] As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwá-põrá, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwake.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

[825] /477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

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Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

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Chapter IX

The Life of the Indian

1) Daily cycle.

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The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592]
"The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

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From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and frequent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work: it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú. Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps 121
the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the
Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is
probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from
the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of
social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the
spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which [342]
the Cubeo maloca, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib [614]
ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from
it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center
formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one
compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate
entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. 121
Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in 182
which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages
grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly
integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves [619]
as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of
segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion,
and fission; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not
by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are 121
at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine
that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures
could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of
social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native
Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South
American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory
for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage
and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader 121
with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally 101
as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology
is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However,
the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture
area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of
the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not 121
a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages 197
of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan,
and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language
of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest
Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

121 (Beuchat and Rivet, 1911; Mason, 1950). A new classification now
197 places Macú with Tucanoan in a Macro-Tucanoan subfamily, and both, together with Arawakan, in a larger Andean-Equatorial family. In this new classification Witotoan is, together with Cariban, part of a Macro-Cariban subfamily under a larger Ge-Pano-Cariban family (Greenberg, 1960). Culturally, the Tucanoans fall into two groups, an eastern one to which the Cubeo belong and a western one about which we know relatively little. Information on the Arawakan and Cariban tribes in the area is somewhat fuller, but still lacking in necessary detail on social structure and cultural patterns. The Witotoans are somewhat better known through the work of Whiffen and of Preuss, while the Tucuna, who speak an isolated tongue, have been professionally described by Nimuendajú. The present volume on the
121 Cubeo attempts a more comprehensive account of the social life and social structure of a Northwest Amazon tribe. Thus the characterization of the area based upon criteria other than those of material culture rests mainly upon our knowledge of the Witotoans, the Tucuna, and the writer's field work among the Cubeo. The presence of well-developed patrilineal sibs among the Cubeo, Witotoans, and Tucuna, elaborate initiation rites, secret rites involving sacred trumpets, the use of bark-cloth masks in mourning ceremonies, and the single large house constituting the community are some of the traits that set this area apart. All of these traits, it should be said, occur outside the area as well but not in quite the same combination.

By cultural criteria the Achagua also belong in the Northwest Amazon area. This large group of Arawakan-speaking peoples, occupying an extensive area on the Colombian-Venezuelan border along the Meta, Vichada, Guaviare, and Orinoco rivers, bears some striking resemblances to the Cubeo (Steward and Faron, 1959, p. 356 ff.). These Arawakans share such traits as the exogamic patrilineal sibs, the communal dwellings, and the secret male cult of the Tucanoans. Economy and material culture are also similar, although in the tropical forest such similarities are of no great significance since they seem almost to blanket the region. Even so, on the score of subsistence the Achagua have the distinctive maize and bean complex of the highlands while the Tucanoans and their Arawakan neighbors have maize but not beans. Since patrilineal sibs are not common in the tropical forest, the Northwest area stands out strikingly in this respect. Prior to 1940 patrilineal sibs had been identified among the
[614] Witotoans only (Whiffen, 1915). The writer reported them for the Cubeo of the Cuduiarí on the basis of his field work (Goldman, 1948). Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently

Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently
identified the social organizations of the Vaupés River as patrilineal 121
sibs, and more recently a young Colombian anthropologist, Marcos [614]
Fulop (1954), described a patrilineal sib organization with a phratric
grouping among the Tucano Indians. Work on the patrilineal Yagua [615]
and the Tucuna was also done after 1940. Before 1940 Kirchhoff (1931),
using the then best available information, had incorrectly characterized the Northwest Amazon region as based upon bilateral kingroups that favored patrilocal residence.

If we are to conceive of the Northwest Amazon as a geographic
region then the Macú must also be included. Macú is a catchall name
for very simple nonhorticultural peoples whose center seems to be
the Rio Negro but who have been moving westward into the Vaupés-Caquetá area (Métraux, 1948). There they have either been assimilated in the Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking tribes or have
lived among these more powerful tribes as servants or "slaves" or in
some other symbiotic relationship. The *Bahúkiwa* sibs of the Cubeo [614]
acknowledged Macú ancestry and may well have been, as Koch-Grünberg has claimed, one of the assimilated Macú groups. The [174]
Macú are shorter in stature than the other Indians in the region. They lack fixed residences, the hammock, and the canoe. If the Macú languages are truly, as Greenberg (1960) has suggested, Macro-Tucanoan, they are not an altogether alien group among their more culturally advanced neighbors. The Macú, however, have not been studied at all so that we do not know whether they are to be considered a remnant of very early nonhorticulturists or as uprooted people who had given up farming. The tropical forest has a number of examples of the latter case. *Bahúkiwa* traditions, on the other hand, refer to a prehorticultural period.

Since our knowledge of the tribes of the entire Northwest Amazon drainage, including the basin of the Rio Negro, is so slight, too much importance cannot be attached to "Northwest Amazon" as a subculture type. However, the entire Northwest Amazon region, which includes an area somewhat greater than the cultural area designated in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward, 1948), has unusual potential interest, potential in the sense that the ethnological problems it poses can become real only after further field work has clarified the state of cultural patterns and cultural institutions there. This northwest quadrant of the Amazon Basin is open to the entire lower Amazon and has, at the same time, contact with the eastern margins of Andean cultures as well as with the southern margins of the Circum-Caribbean cultures. That is to say, on its northern and western flanks it is subject to influences from more highly developed

visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on 136
clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. [114]
When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a
leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt.

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiarí region [114]
where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiarí [101]
Indians is good. Carate (*purú*), a skin pigment disorder apparently
of spirochete origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest 164
Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiarí. Children suffered [165]
from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was
not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The
recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918
influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in
the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent
conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their 146
manioc gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too
generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common
sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiarí, where 614 ●
native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the Cuduiarí itself,
the people at the mouth of the river, the higher ranking *Hehénewa* 142
sibs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the
Indians who lived upstream.

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907-08, observed 142
that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiarí.
He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with
thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability
is considerable on the Cuduiarí, ranging from marked mesomorphy
to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on
measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description
of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from
it:

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon-shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical
forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply an-
[342] other way of calling attention to the common underlying character
of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupian influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal
families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupian intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking
example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influ-
ence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and
Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange
of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural
influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg-
[614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into
one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are
[796] founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is in-
evitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a
foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the
social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken
for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the
Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for
jaguar and for shaman, *yavi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-
speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 197 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of culture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For 177
ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of 291
trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental cere- 182
monial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiari, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiari I saw no man in European dress.

The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cul- 177
tural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian 182
cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak 191
distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupian lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiari who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese.

The use of European personal names offers another example of 177
adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal 551
names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a 182
sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name 614
is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib was the first to tell me his
name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo, [123]

with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a 177
friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervis- 648
ing terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair
treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid
off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The
Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided
medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time
it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as
possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was [114]
entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among
the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of
total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday
life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace
there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by
the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and
the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle 122
Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, 123
who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends [614]
and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation
I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for
me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He
had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they
had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The
reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe
that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pres-
sure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For 123
a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship [597]
term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded
simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a
member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own
alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was
no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had
all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households
were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an ap-
propriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca
as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic
gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time dur-
ing a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú dis-
tributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However,
during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

114 that such an identification gives one. Had I chosen to move from one sib to another I would have had a better account of the formal principles of social structure but at the expense of a knowledge of the patterns of cultural life. My choice of the *Bahúkiwa* among all the Cubeo sibs was partly, as I have explained, fortuitous, but the site, halfway up the Cuduiari, had its advantages in giving me some command of events along the entire river.

121 614 The reader, however, will understand that this study has a special perspective. Although I have made some effort to present "Cubeo," the point of view is unavoidably that of the *Bahúkiwa*, a low-ranking sib and perhaps even an alien sib of probable Macú ancestry. Strictly speaking, a Cubeo perspective can be only an artificial composite pieced together and generalized from the distinctive perspectives of each of its principal sibs. I would imagine that the Cubeo presented from the point of view of the *Hehénewa*, a high-ranking sib, would bring out somewhat more emphasis upon social status and upon the authority of the headman. One wonders how the Cubeo would appear if studied from the point of view of those of its sibs now along the Querari that were once Arawakan-speaking; or if studied from the point of view of those Cubeo-speaking sibs that now form one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

121 The theoretical position of a study is best understood from what the writer does with the material. What he claims to be doing with it is far less important. My own theoretical viewpoint will emerge from the text and more explicitly from the final summation or conclusion. At this point it should be sufficient to say that my purpose is to present the Cubeo in terms of fundamental principles of social structure and in terms of basic cultural patterns. I have chosen a level of description and of analysis that lies between the idiosyncratic and the universal. The detailed account of person and of personal reaction is an example of the idiosyncratic, and the analysis of a culture as an apparatus for the satisfaction of "basic human needs" is an example of the universal. The idiosyncratic and the universal approaches are pancultural. One deals with individual responses that can occur in any society, the other deals with cultural functions that are true of all societies. The level of description chosen here is intended to set the Cubeo apart as a particular social and cultural type and yet to allow bases for cross-cultural comparison with other societies on its cultural level.

Finally, it is necessary to say that this study is incomplete. It had been my hope to do a restudy. When this hope did not seem realizable it was obviously better to submit an incomplete report on the Cubeo than not to submit one at all.

1

The Cubeo Community

361 The Cubeo Indians occupy a string of settlements along a small
stretch of the Vaupés River from Uarúa Lake upstream to Uaracapurí
and downstream to near the Brazilian border, as well as along
several of the Vaupés tributaries, namely the Cuduiarí and the
[61] Querarí and Pirabatón. The tribe consists of some 30 or more patrilineal,
exogamous sibs[1] that are grouped into three unnamed confederations
or phratries of unequal size that are also exogamous.
Although the bulk of the Cubeo now live on the smaller streams –
the Cuduiarí, in particular, being heavily populated – the broad
[614] Vaupés, that joins with the Rio Negro to enter the Amazon, is regarded
by the Indians as their main stream and as their source. Their
173 leading sibs still live there. Native traditions place the emergence of
614 all the Cubeo sibs at two Vaupés sites, at the turbulent cataracts of
361 Yuruparí and of Uaracapurí. From there the people moved up
the nearby tributary streams, the Cuduiarí, the Querarí, and the
173 Pirabatón, a tributary of the Querarí. The traditions record that
361 the first people displaced groups that were already living along
[174] these streams and, in this respect, square with historical observations
that pressures of enemy Indian tribes, and, lately, the
more potent pressures of white colonizers, have been forcing
361 the Indians to leave the main rivers and take shelter in the more
614 distant and constricted feeder streams, or else face physical or cultural
extinction. The more timid and the more humble of the sibs have

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[1] Following the usage of Lowie (1920, p. 111), "sib" is synonymous with "clan."

always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while 361 614
the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and
their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their 361
exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have 614
succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and 177
traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now 797
the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a 161
crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons 162
per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore
along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the [361]
past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging [484]
some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from
their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated
by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density
for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated
by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza 165
epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, 731
the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered [614]
are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which
did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaria* 161
del Vaupés (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, 123
since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During 125
the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm 648
over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor
in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses
and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were
severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word 101
kebéwa, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest
name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most
Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those
who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, 101
there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his 61
sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions
with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians
offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamiwa*
(first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred
to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that
any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

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[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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61 *pamiwa* or a *pwänwa*. The group of exogamous sibs that form a phratry are spoken of as *kwindwü*, *ünhiwü*, or *kwinänokauwü*, all terms with the general meaning of "one kinfolk" or "the same kinfolk." However, I have also heard the expression *nuhénokauwü* (my own kinfolk) used to refer to both tribe and phratry.

61 If tribal designation is vague, the native concept of tribe is only a little more definite. Tribe refers more or less to a common identity of language, descent, and custom. One of the Cubeo phratries was, in fact, once Arawakan. To become tribesmen they adopted the language, customs, and traditions of the Cubeo. Other sibs appear to have been at one time Macú as well as sections of the Tucano "tribe." 614 There are no formal bonds of tribe and there is no acknowledgment of tribal overlordship. Cubeo social structure is segmentary, the patrilineal sib being the basic segment. Every sib has established relationships with other sibs to regulate marriage, ceremonial participation, friendships, and hospitality along traditional lines, but also to some degree along lines that suit its own particular interests.

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614 The phratry is a more sharply defined and a far more important social aggregate than tribe. A phratry is a confederation of sibs that are closely bound by rules of exogamy, by common residence along the same river, by a tradition of common origin and descent, by a graded order of rank that assigns to each sib its place in a social hierarchy, and, finally, by a series of ceremonies, solemn as well as secular, such as drinking parties at which each sib entertains its fellow sibs. Withal, there is no phratric overlordship, no phratric council or other agency to consider policy for the phratry as a whole.

What gives a phratry cohesiveness is the pattern of relations that the individual sibs, each acting individually, have formed with one another. The most important of these relationships is the rule of exogamy. By adhering to a rule of exogamy the sibs regard themselves as "brothers," for fraternity is based on the kinship principle that brothers cooperate and share the same rules of exogamy. Most sibs in a phratry have been joined together from the traditional beginnings or the time of first emergence, others are newcomers who have been adopted into the cofraternity of sibs. Adoption is the prerogative of an individual sib. A sib adopts an alien group as a subsib and automatically gives it a place and rank in the phratry. The phratry is no homogeneous federation of fraternal sibs. It is differentiated by rank, by historic background, and by geography. Sibs of the same historic background and of similar rank who are neighbors on the river feel closer to one another and form, therefore, an unofficial but still evident inner circle. Normally, rank, historic background, and propin-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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quity coincide and so the informal clusterings are strengthened. Thus, 615
when one speaks of sibs within the phratry it is necessary to dis- 614
tinguish between "close" sibs and "distant" sibs. As the discussion
of kinship will show, these distinctions between "close" and "distant" 614
sibs are actually expressed in kinship usages. Among the Cubeo, rela- 615
tive ranking of sibs is not as formally expressed as it is among the 601
Tucano tribe. Among the latter, all the lower-ranking sibs of a
phratry are junior siblings and are addressed by the term "junior
sibling." The highest-ranking sib is "older brother" to all the other
sibs (Fulop, 1955).

The basic segment is the sib. A sib is an exogamic, patrilineal, and 614
patrilocal descent group that claims to share a line of descent through
males (with some exceptions) back to a founding ancestor at the be-
ginnings. The sense of sib is that of a local group capable of sharing
a common residence and of regarding itself as a fraternal kingroup.
Sib members may be, and often are, dispersed. This, however, is, in
the Cubeo view of things, an abnormal situation. Sib identity, in any
case, is never lost. Even women who must marry "out" are forever
members of the paternal sib. The sib, as we have already said, has a
name. It has a headman, a common residence or sib center, and is on
any crucial issue autonomous politically and economically. It may
break out of the exogamic grouping of the phratry by moving away
and joining another phratric organization. This, however, it will be
very reluctant to do. Sibs are not static entities and that is why one
cannot obtain an exact count of their number. Fission is an ever ac-
tive process and reveals itself in what may be called "phases of sepa-
ration." Within a common residence site most families live in a long 592
house, called in the region a maloca. Others live alongside the maloca 614
in smaller houses. I have called the occupants of the smaller houses
"Independents" because of their expressed intention to remain some-
what outside of the jurisdiction of the sib headman.

Some sib members live at a nearby but distinct site with very con- 614
siderable autonomy, but recognize the main maloca as their sib
center. These people are still more estranged from the sib and I have
called them "Satellites." The Satellites may estrange themselves to
the point of complete separation. They then assume a sib name that
is a compound of the original sib name with a new designation and
so take on the status of a subsib. A subsib has a strong sentimental
attachment to its parent sib, but in all other respects it is autonomous.
A Satellite may also give up its satellite standing by rejoining the
parent sib. Subsibs are held together by sharing a common sib name
and a common genealogy. This is true whether subsibs have been

● 614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of 614 minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib 592 are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of 614 594 cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

121 61 621 What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

THE COMMUNITY

621 182 The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

361 From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the [615] Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial 241
purposes. 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 361 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

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chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
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361 Caño dwellers are self-[illegible]scious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
chagra are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally
dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiarí and the
361 Querarí. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
614 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
554 occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

621 592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

621 311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiarí, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiarí, land utilization is [614] subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

361 244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

621 182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests [578] are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiari; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way.

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Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain.

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The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses.

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In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y generál*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habókũ*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kendmi upíkũ* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along

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342 the Cuduiarí I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal
614 autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the
Bahúkiwa subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in
small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

SANITATION

364 A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and
356 orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command
[622] assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most
[476] unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the wom-
[461] en take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate
for a collective undertaking.

356 The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house
[183] that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation
of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because
it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large
[574] maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the
woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled
capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since
[576] there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women
have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that
guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

364 Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste
[514] meat such as entrails — but these are immediately devoured by the
piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the
brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child
has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory
functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies
that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-
ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can
(592) attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the
proper phratric scale.

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342
857

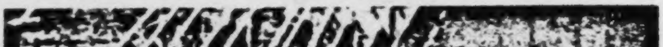

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

614
proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small 621
malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a 342
square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The
distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well [177]
known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The
advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it
cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear.
It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the
parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage.
When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually
on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will
qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must
regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following 342
spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the
central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front
end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The
living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A
12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along
each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of
living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a [354]
hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that
resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared 342
with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own 513
hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the 352
hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts.
The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are
lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from
outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The
rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it
tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging
hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no [353]
partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we [833]
have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. [514]
The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully
recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one 342
another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house
sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage [572]
facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and [574]
the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article [352]
that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark- [353]

342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting
beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
● [614] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and
while their representations on house walls have no specific magical
function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact
with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those
on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial
gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the
central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large
communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals
are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy
the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several
[512] hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for ex-
[768] ample, return to the parental community with their children. There
are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but
not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do
not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the 621 614
governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true 591
of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of 621
the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters 614
and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She
prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed 589
chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the 592
entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in [591]
sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation
mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage 621
partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The 614
boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sib- 589
ling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Be- 592
cause of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age 582
mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably
not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had 621
come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of 736
his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people 588
called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awk- 614
ward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only com- [591]
munity exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has 621
grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib ex- 614
ogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The 582
Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They 571
have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

621
• 614 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a
582 girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother.
571 If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly
way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has
no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance
of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle,
since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of
a woman from her own community.

•
361
THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

614 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some ex-
554 ceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis
of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a
parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most
[823] important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs,
the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish
[146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals
[224] are hunted along the river banks.

The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward
361 the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers
823 are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The
river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of
dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is liter-
ally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source
[103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It
contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological refer-
361 ences, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of
sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear
614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo
615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be
people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic
grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the
phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept
membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has
interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwä* sib is
an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the
Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is
an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí
phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwä* are
drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what
is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

361

of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighbor- 614
liness. 615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of
river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A bound- 131
ary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) 614
to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to 423
cachoeira. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric 615
territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers
may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installa- 131
tions such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a 614
particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly 423
fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and
they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasion- 131
ally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish 423
weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The 578
Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued.

CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of 501
native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the 516
river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels.

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

504 recover it. Away from home, a canoe is moored completely out of the water.

361 COMMUNITIES ON THE CUDUIARÍ (upstream from mouth)

103

614

PLACE NAME	SIB	PLACE NAME	SIB
1. Kakómba	*Hehénewa*	16. Xiábewa	*Pedíkwa*
2. Kuridí kenámi	*Hehénewa*	17. Kuraría	*Kendnikauwü*
3. Tcipakoríba *	*Hehénewa*	18. Abúhakü	*Kendnikauwü*
4. Okóhambü	*Bahúkiwa*	19. Xwévebo	*Hürüwá*
5. Vekókü	*Bahúkiwa*	20. Bedébo	*Hürüwá*
6. Ewáhubo	*Bahúküdjauwü*	21. Kobéhowa	*Pyéndo-Hehénewa*
7. Hurédo	*Bahúküdjauwü*	22. Avyákoríba	*Hürüwá*
8. Nyáparataínto	*Bahúküdjauwü*	23. Kwitóro	*Wadjá-Hürüwá*
9. Yavíbi	*Bahúküdjauwü*	24. Bedébü	*Hürüwá*
10. Kiráda	*Bahúkiwa*	25. Toróhambü	*Hürüwá*
11. Übo	*Pedíkwa*	26. Hokóbü	*Kendnikauwü*
12. Mákavekü	*Bahúkiwa*	27. Horáhararía	*Hürüwá*
13. Makatóta	*Bahúkiwa*	28. Hudjíbü	*Bahúkiwa*
14. Toidíbü	*Pedíkwa*	29. Mátakwe	*Pyéndo-Hehénewa*
15. Monékenpaunwa	*Pedíkwa*		

* A small *Korówa* settlement is at *Urupera* between 3 and 4. It is, however, only a fraction of a Querarí River sib and not a full community.

773 From *Kúwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

PRODUCTION

261
433 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing
other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production
falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community
under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

226
554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on
796 wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each
[251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The
dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish
[417] basket and is called *nyukdro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated
[614] with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle.
[237] They sing songs (*mdopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many
as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was
[114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After
the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish
festival, called simply *upaiieteno* (festival). The Indians explained
that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance
is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those
484 of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often
used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on
fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg,
in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing
strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of
226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very
bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free
484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or
574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for
602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites
of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including
the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable
mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

HUNTING

224 Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult
[462] male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally
the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30,
[178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from
joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent
in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using
[177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with
muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his 224
small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man (177)
does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed
only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any
collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting [593]
party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood [614]
brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters,
of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are ex- [151]
cellent marksmen, cool and courageous. [157]

The big game is the tapir (*vekü*), who is awaited at a salt lick near 224
a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, 825
arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a
ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways
fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who
has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular
tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him
in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase 224
the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed [184]
quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The [262]
Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I partici- [114]
pated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was
killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped near-
by, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and
cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as [251]
entire pieces and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly
packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused 224
themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal 614
had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib [431]
house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The
Bahúkiwa hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both
generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was
distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presen-
tation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh
of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for 224
prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter.
He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana 439
Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to
prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should [582]
be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages,
in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges.

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance 438
with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehénewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiarí.

PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we 423
deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over [61]
a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered.
Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They [103]
identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations.

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, 423
concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment 614
rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned
with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear [615]
encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib [619]
taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo.

423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There
is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should
cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
[768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers
have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate
relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select
any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and
for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
422 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman
to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or
"my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

The
relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By work- 244
ing jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib 423
obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared 593
with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between 571
a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of
greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the [614] ●
making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines
a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A wom-
an without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has
no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another
household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only
firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a
frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation
is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her
own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of
her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign
of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon
an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and
unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the mate-
rial holding of land.

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc 244
chagra. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By 423
making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The prepa- 462
ration of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but 593
chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it some-
times emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of
status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak [261]
of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between
the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a
man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently
does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that
she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her"
manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely
contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such
as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind
of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is.

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, 244
is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. 423
It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry 261
mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a 602
solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman
is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she

244
423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and
be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is
[602] the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the
[558] sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No
other land in the community has this character of particularity.
All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the
cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing
as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household
have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife
adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations
are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recog-
423 nition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may
be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously
respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings
[622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for
the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless,
[431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his
pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the
community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point,
[183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and shar-
[431] ing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege
of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal
249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled
423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so,
431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Chil-
dren, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very
young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I
am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kin-
ship connection may be.

226 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites
423 for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one ter-
614 ritorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river.
Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely
intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are
obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they
[578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are
mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes
423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of
226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for
weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting
in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of
264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which
262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped
fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon
arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge
sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating
between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like,
and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the
household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for
themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. /A youngster,
however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly
after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men
crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman
has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women
and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands.
The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to
their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish
261 what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost
daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as
264 though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the
table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great
quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the
women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess
[183] only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say,
excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote
[614] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the
264 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh,
522 tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the
catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the
laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them
morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of
food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But
in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will
provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so
foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be
having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw 264 upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their [522] portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, [184] though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will 264 ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, 765 which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and 261 tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare [574] no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them [796] in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people [273] wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The 261 Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, 264 and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect 577 women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified 264 social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. 574 The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. [614] However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently [123] caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
244 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
433 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
462 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any
461 community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, how-
ever, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how
much land the women of a household, working independently, can
cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she
can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc culti-
vation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call
upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in,
and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct
the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdic-
tion over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
244 Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[261] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There
[273] is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
● [614] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be
said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or
[182] adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional
sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be
said to operate.[2] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do
the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand
may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop,"
pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional
sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become cus-
tomary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market
is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her
farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift ex-
changes that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister,
and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

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[2] See the chapter on the drinking party.

433
184 There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby food-
stuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate dispropor-
361 tionately in any one household or in any one community. There are
well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differ-
ences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own
361 state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has
●614 been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential
433 ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in
fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have ad-
vantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver
on the Cuduiarí than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do
have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect,
the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge
the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources.
The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an
extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but
there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic
zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire
hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his
travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very
far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial
614 in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a
433 hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families
574 to travel about, visiting community after community where they have
either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men
are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned
gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome.
It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for
nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community
than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic
[421] hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the
right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal
cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to
it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hos-
pitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a non-
traditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of
[431] reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill
a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay
tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the
meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

433 Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources
261 are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol-
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3

The Sib

● 614

The Cubeo sib is a unilineal descent group whose members regard
themselves as being descended from common ancestors but cannot
establish an actual genealogical relationship. Sibs are named, normally
[615] localized, exogamic, patrilineal, and patrilocal. They are bound
into unnamed exogamic phratries within which they occupy an order
of rank that expresses the sequence in which they emerged during
their mythical first emergence. Sib members claim descent from the
male of an ancestral brother-sister pair. Each sib bears a name that in
some cases is the name of the sib founder, but in any case is the name
of an Ancient, that is, an early ancestor. The first ancestors are called
Bekĭpwänwa (the Ancients). The sib is the center of the social structure,
[622] the focus and regulator of all main social, religious, and economic
activities. It is the only true political unit since only a sib has
a headman. A person's identification is only by sib. The strongest
feeling that the Cubeo have for the sib is that it is a family in which
the males show the strongest solidarity because they are the ones who
live permanently together. The women never lose their sib identity,
and when a married woman returns home, as a widow, divorced, or
with a husband in tow, she may take up a position in the sib that is
sociologically equivalent to that of a male head of household. She
takes her place in the informal council of household heads and takes
her turn in giving drinking parties to her sibmates.

[114] Since my study of the Cubeo sib system is incomplete, being based
on information from a few sibs only, the principles of sib nomen-

clature can only be hinted at and not definitely established. One 614 principle, that of eponymy, seems to hold for sibs of high social 114 standing. But my information on this point is limited to only one of the phratries. In this phratry, composed of sibs along the Cuduiarí [615] and the Vaupés, the two top-ranking sibs bear the names of Ancients who were the very first men to emerge from the traditional emergence site. The founders of the *Órobawa* and of the *Aúnbwawü* were, respectively, *Órobakü* and *Aúnkü*.[1] These men, it is said, named all the other sibs of the phratry that emerged after they did. I could not discover the source of these names. They may have been from the genealogical list of the two top-ranking sibs, in accordance with the current principle that when a new sib is adopted into the phratry the adopting or sponsoring sib endows its members with names from its own genealogical list. However, Cubeo traditions suggest diverse origins for the sibs so that it is unlikely that a single principle will explain the sib names.

The first ancestors of the sibs, other than the top-ranking two, had names that were not the same as the sib names. The founder of the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, was *Bwü* (Agouti) and the founder of the *Hehénewa* was *Djurédo*, but later Ancients took as personal names the sib name itself, thus establishing in subsequent generations the principle of eponymy. In later generations, *Bahúkü* becomes a leading *Bahúkiwa* Ancient and *Hehénakü* a leading *Hehénewa* Ancient. Any Ancient may also be referred to generically by the sib name, so that one may speak of a specific *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*[2] or of a generalized *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*, meaning in the latter instance an Ancient man or woman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib.

A proper sib name must have some eponymous quality. Some sib names are descriptive, such as *Mánapwänwa*, meaning "Trail People," a derogatory reference to people who arrived on the Cuduiarí overland like the Macú instead of decently along the river by canoe. These people reject this name in favor of a subsib name which has the orthodox merit of having been bestowed by the founders of the phratry. Cubeo sib names are normally descriptive only insofar as personal names are descriptive. The legendary method by which the first sibs got their names from a higher-ranking source stands for the Cubeo as the model by which newcomers are brought into the phratry. An adopted sib is given a name that has in its stem the name of the adopting sib. All the sibs of the *Hehénewa* are differentiated [193] by a descriptive prefix, while the sibs of the *Bahúkiwa* are differen-

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[1] There is a full list of sibs following the present discussion.

[2] The suffix *kü* is masculine, *ko* is feminine.

[193]

614 193 tiated by a suffix. From the *Hehénewa* traditions it seems likely that they were originally an independent tribe, probably Tucano, that had joined in with the group of sibs that were headed by the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnbwawü*, bringing with them their associated sibs. The sibs that carry the *Hehénewa* stem with their descriptive prefixes are also known by names that are compounded of the prefixes as well. Thus, the *Byari-Hehénewa* are also known as *Byaridowa*, and the *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* as *Pyéndowa*. According to Koch-Grünberg, the 614 *Órobawa* regard themselves as a branch of the *Hehénewa* and are also known as *Ólaba-Hehénewa*. His information was that the *Hehénewa* were the "true" Cubeo and that the *Bahúkiwa* were intrusive Macú (1909, II, 87). The actual history of the sibs is clouded in uncertainty. We can be reasonably sure only of a composite of several distinctive peoples or "tribes." The few *Wathariwa* sibs in my list are also named in a fashion similar to that of the *Hehénewa*.

614 551 Each sib also possesses a list of personal names that constitutes its traditional genealogy.[3] These are names that all sib members must bear. They are called *ainheme* (*ain*: anaconda; *heme*: tongue) to indicate their origin from the speech of the anaconda, the animal form in which all first ancestors emerged from the earth. In these names there is a note of prestige, in that some names are illustrious, being part of the earliest genealogies, while others, having been added later, are less important. Since only one name can be held at a time, names are allocated in order of seniority, but not, insofar as I know, within a senior line. Names with an honorific connotation circulate within [613] [424] the sib, and not by lineage. They are transmitted in alternate generations, going from a deceased grandparent to a grandchild. It should be said at once that while the notions of sib rank and of the distinction between more honorific and less honorific names suggests a structured system of social status, the social significance of status hierarchy is not great. The Cubeo have the skeleton of an aristocratic system that is fleshed with an egalitarian ethos.

Personal names are often those of birds, insects, and beasts, less commonly of fish. In the recent past, it is said, sib members did not eat the flesh of any creature whose name was then being carried by a sib member. This taboo is no longer in force. The explanation given is that hunting is more important now and they do not wish to deprive themselves of animal meat.[4] Without a proper sib name,

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[3] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* names at the end of this chaper.

[4] On the other hand, there is the tradition that in the past they lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering rather than by farming. If this taboo did indeed exist it may have lapsed for the same reason that other ceremonial observances have

Without a proper sib name, a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the Ancients. 614 The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth 551 magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealogies [856] are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names and to address one another by a kinship term. [601]

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The 614 "history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[8] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking [578] and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up.

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member 614 sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same 615 phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed.

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwinduwü* (one kin) and *abéwetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Puénte aínkü* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

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lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[8] The text of the *Bahúkiwa* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

615 them. Either version accounts for sib hierarchy. In the first version
• 614 the Cubeo visualize the phratry as the body of the anaconda spread along a river with its head anchored at the site of emergence and its tail lying upstream to form the lowest-ranking sib. In the second version the sib pairs moved upstream and located themselves according to the sequence of their emergence. The theme of common descent that sanctions exogamy and confraternity is conveyed not by a common anaconda ancestor, for the Cubeo would not doubt that all human beings were descended from anacondas, but rather by common emergence from the same site. All sibs of the same phratry should ideally have emerged from the same rapids. But even among those having emerged from the same rapids there are still distinctions of relative closeness depending upon whether they emerged from the same hole or from adjacent holes. It would seem that the origin myth must be in harmony with current social relationships and that a particular version is employed depending upon the present state of affairs. When a sib is newly admitted into the phratry it must adapt its own origin traditions to the common mythical theme of emergence in the form of an anaconda at a preferred emergence site.

From the *Bahúkiwa* I heard at least three versions of the story
614 that placed the *Hehénewa* within the phratry. One said that the *Hehénewa* were really strangers, having emerged somewhere along the Papurý River. They heard the *Orobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets, and attracted by the music — a sign of identity — they came

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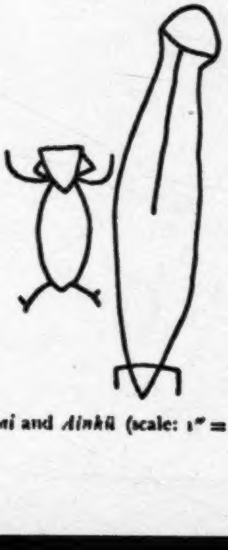

Fig. 4. Petroglyph: *Kúwai* and *Ainkü* (scale: 1" = 6').

to the true emergence site of Uaracapurí, where they were received by the *Órobawa*, who bestowed upon them the name *Hehénewa*. This version would account for Koch-Grünberg's information that the *Hehénewa* are also known as *Ólaba-Hehénewa*. Another version suggests a closer relationship by making the point that the *Hehénewa* had wanted to emerge in the same place with all the others of the phratry, but because other sibs were hostile to them they came out instead at the Papurý and then journeyed to join their kin. A third version is simply that the *Hehénewa* and *Bahúkiwa* were once alien groups that joined into a confederation after the *Hehénewa* had befriended the *Bahúkiwa*.

The theme of hostility in the *Hehénewa* emergence was explained by informants in the following way. The first people were very fierce and those that came out of the emergence hole wanted to prevent others from emerging. The *Órobawa*, having come out first, made a hole for the others to come out of. Those they willingly allowed to come out formed with them one group. Those that came out despite opposition formed another. Subsequently both divisions were rejoined.

The *Pedikwa*, a branch of the *Hehénewa*, also tell that they had been prevented by the hostility of the other sibs from emerging at Uaracapurí and so they emerged at the Papurý. They came out in the form of a single anaconda who cut himself into many parts, each of which became a parakeet (*kúdjuru*). The parakeets flew about looking for food and settled at a lagoon at *Yaibabü* near the Mitú *igarapes*, an affluent of the upper Cuduiarí. After a time, they cut a path through the forest and arrived at *Pediwa*, a rock on the Cuduiarí where they built a house and became the *Pedikwa*. A more honorific version of this tale that the *Pedikwa* also tell is that, having come to *Pediwa*, the site of a major rapids on the Cuduiarí, they re-emerged. Since, they insist, they had never taken human form until they had re-emerged at *Pediwa*, they feel justified in claiming that rapids as a true emergence site and they have the distinction, therefore, of now residing, as does the *Órobawa* head sib, at an original emergence site. An unknown people, the tradition relates, had been living at *Pediwa*, now known as *Toídibü* (Painted rocks – petroglyphs) but moved away when the *Pedikwa* re-emerged.

The *Bahúkiwa* explain their relationship to the *Hehénewa* as follows: *Bwü* (Agouti), the Ancient of the *Bahúkiwa*, was leading his people from the Vaupés up into the Cuduiarí when they encountered the *Byari-Hehénewa*, a now extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*. They fought and all the *Bahúkiwa* were killed except for one boy, who

614 came to be known as *Bwübekúdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byarí-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byarí-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released
614 *Bwübekúdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (Macú) women as wives. The
648 *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Bwübekúdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship alliance with the Macú stigmatizes the
648 *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the
554 male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borówa* women sexually but did not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*.
[611] And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahúkübwauwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Aúnbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was suc-
614 cored by the *Aúnbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married.
611 The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwauwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

615 The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is
614 of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our in-
615 terest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency.
614 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the
174 region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. 615 To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular 614 drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has 174 probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multisib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions 615 are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships 614 among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, [829] because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).* This group, consisting of *Órobawa, Aúnbwawü, Hehénewa, Wathariwa, Byá-Wathariwa,* and *Byá-Hehénewa,* is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavíbebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapurí cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa,* according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one [601] another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa,* for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

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*This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. [554] There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is [186] applied to the Macú. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onça.*

615 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their
● 614 part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage
between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute
such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking
Hehénewa emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness,
between their respective sibs.

615 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hier-
614 archical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social struc-
ture and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither,
554 as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo.
[301] Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no
actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there
any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other
than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only
the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear
the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking
Bahúkiwa no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-verte-
brae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon
seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but
it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the
absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of
social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within
[177] the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of
seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible
for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single
chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that
[721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the
hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa*
once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political au-
614 thority over the entire Cuduiarí.

[613] The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point
whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patriline-
age. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage
features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the
strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely
descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to
[867] establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old
man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in
the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib gene-
alogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never ac-
tually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a 614
strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. [829]
What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact
that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their [613]
ancient descent lines.

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group 614
as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first 613
glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain
the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way 614
of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, 615
the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed
the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being 182
too small.

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In cases of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without
serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that (174)
the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant 614
formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at 619
any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through 174

614 619 174 time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speaking the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

614 174 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages – because of the ease of fission – but rather as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

614 615 554 361 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the *Bahúkiwa* view of sib rank.

PHRATRY I

Órobawa The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapurí on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Órobakü*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Ólaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehénewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Órobawa*. According to my information, they are most closely linked with the *Hwáni-Hehénewa* and with the *Aúnwewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo. [114]

Aúnbwawü The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkü*. Some informants said that *Aúnkü* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Órobakü*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In 1940 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence at Pindaiva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference ~~to the~~ *Ambomamára* 614 615 on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his 554 or Koch-Grünberg's lists. 361

Hehénewa In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the [114] largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Órobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapurí. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbwawü*.

Byá-Hehénewa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

Watharíwa The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbwawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacuréwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umarí* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapurí falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

Byá-Watharíwa A subsib of the *Watharíwa* on the Vaupés.

Urérariwa Perhaps a subsib of the *Watharíwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

Bahúkiwa They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapurí falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Bwü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and [563] identified them as a Macú group (*Borówa*) who wandered into the [648] Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borówa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borówa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borówa*, [186] is commonly used in the region as an epithet.

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361 is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahúkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

Bahúküdjauwü A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahúkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahúkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiarí and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapes*.

Bahukuondwa A subsib of the *Bahúküdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiarí.

Bahúkübwauwü A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* who are also known by the
[648] derogatory connotation of *Mánapwänwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group,
[563] perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiarí overland, and whose emergence site was the Querari *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiarí.
[551] The *Bahúkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from t[illegible]r own sib genealogy.

Pedikwa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiarí above the *Bahúkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so th[illegible]parated. They are also known as *Pedi-Hehénewa* because they em[illegible] at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered the[illegible]he same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of th[illegible]o. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from [illegible]em on the Cuduiarí. They are also known as *Piátokaüo*.

Kenánikauwü A subsib of the *Pedikwa* on the upper Cuduiarí at *Piramirí* and at *Abúhakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

Kenámbwawa A subsib of the *Pedikwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiarí.

Utciwaiwa Their emergence site was the Yuruparí *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapurí. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahúkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miritî *igarapes* below the Yuruparí falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

Barýáwatiwaiwa A sib that emerged from Yuruparí *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Barýáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

Piaráwa A sib that emerged at Uaracapurí rapids, from a particular site
[551] called *Mumikü*. They live at Miritî *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibö*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tokandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá-Piaráwa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiarí. 554 361 [101] [114]

Pyéndo-Hehénewa A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedíkwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiarí, the main maloca being at Querarí *miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abúhudjo* on the Yuruparí *miri* and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*.

Hwáni-Hehénewa A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the Uaracapurí *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papurý.

Aúnwewa A subsib of the *Aúnbwawü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaría* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiarí and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry. [114]

Kompainyewa Closely linked with the *Piaráwa*, they live at Pindaíva on the Vaupés just above Urania near the Yuruparí falls. Their emergence site, however, is Uaracapurí.

Abóxo-Hehénewa A sib on the upper Querarí mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

Ambomamára A sib on the Cuduiarí mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnbwawü*.

Byari-Hehénewa An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiarí as well as at Uarúa Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byaridowa*.

Papuli-Hehénewa A sib living on the Cuduiarí during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at Suriburoca but now extinct. They came from the Papurý and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

Kenámbwawa A sib on the upper Cuduiarí, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedíkwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants disagree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yavímanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedíkwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Uteiwaiwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piaráwa*, and the *Kompainyewa*. 615 554 614

615 **PHRATRY II**

614 554 361 *Bwoibowa* The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés. According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aindoribo* at a site called *Hobónoburúno.* Originally they fought with the *Byówa,* now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grünberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeo *Pamóa.* The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupés.

Byówa A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querarí. Koch-Grünberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querarí, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querarí. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa.*

Hürüwá Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiarí, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Hehénewa* subsib. They emerged from a site called *Kohédariwa* above Uaracapurí on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiarí. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupés.

Wadjá-Hürüwá A subsib of the *Hürüwá* at *Kwitóro* on the Cuduiarí.

Korówa Primarily a Querarí River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiarí at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grünberg politically subordinate to, the *Byówa.* In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupés, where [101] they have also been reported by Nimuendajú. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiarí. They are known as *Korókoro-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians).

Waláola A group mentioned by Nimuendajú as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subsib of the *Korówa.*

Mianáwa A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré *igarapes* on the upper Vaupés—*Makakinyo, Jacaré, Seima*—as well as at Pirabatón *igarapes.* Koch-Grünberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yuruparí falls on the lower Vaupés. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

[101] *Djurémawa* Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tapuyo* of the Aiarí River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querarí on the Vaupés in 1904. According to Koch-Grünberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeo and are close kin of the *Káua* of the Aiarí. The Uanana, Koch-Grünberg reports, call them *Maxha-Pinopona* (Boa).

Tóriawü A sib on the Querarí, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

Konéntaraboiwü According to Koch-Grünberg, who referred to them as *Koldtalepoauo,* they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querarí and assimilated to the Cubeo language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitárabewi* on the Querarí, perhaps the

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified 614
Kowétarabawü on the Querarí. 554
Yániwa A sib at the mouth of the Querarí. Nimuendajú also noted them 361
on the Querarí as *Dyaniwa*.

Yokókübewü A sib on the lower Querarí.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

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Batóua Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, 614
a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come 361
from the Querarí. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by 114
Nimuendajú.

Ilhéadowa A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiarí, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiarí, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. T

Káua A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper 614
Aiarí. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called
them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans 361
from the Querarí and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiarí near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

THE *BORÓWA*

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The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once 648
servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer 464
the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to T
be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear 563
of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them M
away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily [101]
and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection [754]
against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual
Borówa or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday T
work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they [592]
fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo T
and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They [582]
even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry
with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition [614]
that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is [592]
that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very
long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household. T

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they [435]

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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648 were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as
464 wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one
T *behórũ* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and
563 had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind
[435] moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being
slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude
nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of
their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic
M advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they
[285] helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any
of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Bo-*
[463] *róiwa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that
M they were most important. Nor was social status too important an
[273] issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they
increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good
deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously
M heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

T The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still
648 not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Boróiwa*
174 were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they
T were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may
563 simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom
they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If
the *Boróiwa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the
T ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among
[614] the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Boróiwa* a
lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a differ-
M ent language and only adopted the language of their households.
[582] Along these lines is also the comment that the *Boróiwa* were a people
"without shame," because among them brother and sister (presuma-
bly parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another
M explanation given by the Cubeo of *Boróiwa* status and that is that
[361] they had been conquered. The *Boróiwa* are said to live at the mouth
[114] of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

M The *Boróiwa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if
T not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own
648 information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I
464 could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up
357 keeping *Boróiwa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves"
567 among the Tucano of Parý *cachoeira*. In this community there were
T three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their
563 own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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MACU SQ10

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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, 464
and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them 357
well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). 567
The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not T
given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given 563
coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the
dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. T
Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood.
The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were (432)
sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg (186)
that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them,
however, the very human arts of black magic.

BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS T

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narra- 614
tive is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The 539
chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*medkamótewu yavaiwü*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

pwéntewü — the people came out
tcúntcawwa — and shed (their anaconda skins)
hahádami — they went forward
waré borikapindo — the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
opéko tamána — crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
emintakori — the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
hanúrübo — (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
bwühürüküwü — the rock where *Bwü* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwü*)
byátakwe — the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
kwábebo — the place of *Kwákü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
borikabo — the place of *Borikakü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies — it means the aracú fish)
opéko tavá — the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakü* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
nahó pwénwa — the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
bwütaunrü — the tree beneath which *Bwü* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwü* passed beneath it)
bwütaunrü — the tree beneath which Bwü passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
waokún — the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

• 614
539 *taiayáivikun* – the river bank of the jaguar (a jaguar tried to climb the high bank and failed; an Ancient came along and the jaguar, frightened, dashed into a tree, where it became transfixed)

nyukáhemekun – the beach of the kumari plant (there was a kumari [*nyuká*] bush here; an Ancient cut it down and it turned to sand)

popébünawü – the place of the war club (an Ancient arrived here to drink and met one of his own kinsmen; they quarreled and the Ancient killed his kinsman with his war club [*pòpébü*])

opéko tawá – the milk of the tree (a reference to a place when an Ancient passed among the others a small calabash of palm milk)

opéko hyáwü – (the name of a rock where they paused again to drink milk)

opéko tankúru – the whirlpool of milk (a reference to a rapids, the place of white waters)

hurébu – the place of the dove (a rapids where a dove flying by fell and turned into a rock)

turúbokun – (the name of a beach where there were many small fish)

mamáima – the rock of the amári tree

mamákapindo – (a reference to the part of the rock that projects into the river [*kapindo*])

nebékuwa waibóhateni kríwü – there the Ancients crossed to the other side to live

horábotabü – they made pottery vessels

ipákarekü waibuhateni kritámeda – they crossed a hill and there they lived

ipakaréda hanhánkenaku – the hill of the hán han bird (a fish-catching bird)

opéko kenákuna – milk of the mountain of rock (a rocky outcrop where they paused to drink milk)

hanhánatakuwe – the place where the hán han played (the name of a rock)

marúkubo – the rock of the marúku monkey (they killed this monkey and it turned into a rock)

nakóterarerakun – the high bank with the great round eyes (when one of the Ancients saw this place he looked at it with huge round eyes of astonishment)

emuni dani – they came upriver

wainitenimeda – they passed

wanindona – the narrow passage of the *wanindo* spume

pidári hwaibo – the burrow of *pidári* (a reference to a place at the headwaters of the *wanindo* creek where the water is as black as *piddri* [a dark liquid formed when manioc is left in the water to decay]; here an Ancient made a burrow such as an animal makes and in it left the calabash of milk as a cache)

makánoka piddri kóbo – in the forest of *piddri* he made the cache

opéko maná emenddani – at the milk trail he went out of the river

kríwü mákarnka – to live on a high hill

pindó kavárebo – the bend of *kavárebo* (a rock at the mouth of the Cuduiarí where it enters the Vaupés)

kwitóteda – (a lake near Urania on the Vaupés)

kwitóteku – (the sandy beach of that name)

nyemi hwainéndi – (the place name for what is now Mitú, the capital of the *Comisaria del Vaupés*)
opéko tokóve – the small stream of milk (a creek that was then pure milk but is now only water)
dyaridü – the slippery rock
tuwárü hivéda – the stream of blood (*hivé*, a reference to waters that run red)
toténekribü bekédowa – there the Ancients arrived to stay
putovanimeda – there they explored upriver
nénbudja – and then back
noná hivédera – to *hivéda*
kempaimeda – they returned
opéko haváteni – they drank milk
húwü opéko – the cold milk
tankü wena pianitani – the rapids where they emerged
danáni kriwü – they came to live
opéko teribobü – where the waters were like milk
kenánhamedo – the lake of *kenáhume* (yellow clay used in dyeing the ceremonial ligatures; the lake is just above Santa Marta)
namúkoribana – the place of the *namúkoriba* fish (near the mouth of the Cuduiari)
towándaimeda – they reached
wainitanidaimeda – and then they passed
opéko horóbena – an urn of milk (a reference to water that looked like milk, i.e., a rapids)
xuikópwimada – they came upon
neháwükemana – their in-laws
pwü nehóitaro – and already at the creek of grease (a reference to its waters, which were then pure grease)
keraru kemódakiporu – the place of the closed-off creek (a site above Garaffo Lake)
nohiva paipibü – above them the whirlpool of Guasá
pwü heniharina – and the fast black waters
apyá bepora – the whirlpool of the tree trunk
hivákapunáwü – (a place name)
makavékü – the place of parrots' wings
hubókiporü – they portaged overland
pwü mavákobe – and quickly arrived at
biarido bupékü – the place of the *bupékü* butterflies
peómbü – the lake shaped like a *peómbo* (a container for curare)
djútuna moró – the place of the many grubs (a reference to a thick mass of grubs they found and cooked into a stew)
miauikü tonwéndo – the high bank where the water rushes with a sucking sound
mumúkü – the place of the tangle of roots
yavikénamü – the house of the jaguars (a reference to their having encountered many jaguars here)
mahópanwa warindo – (a place name)
waniketawü – the place of the *táwü* fish (a reference to fish that resembled *táwü*, bark-cloth masks worn in mourning ceremonies)

mimikütcundu – the creek of the *mimikü* bird
unenýkübo – the place of the pupunha trees
[Then they began to return and they came to]
wakúdjari – (a creek named after the *wakúdjari* fruit)
tcipédikoríba – (a place name)
tcipéü tavíno – (a place name)
püwüdjaribü – the slippery place
kendóha mutútu – the bank of the yellow clay
tuibü – (a place name)
yuparído – (a creek named after a red fish)
veübokutcendu – the hill of the háku fish
hororákipúru – (a place name)
pwánaku – the high bank of mud out of which water seeps
vekókü – the place of the parrots (the present site of the *Bahúkiwa*)
vekúro – the creek of the parrots
nomí tavibo – the circle of women (a reference to a circular trench around a house, built by women to ward off enemies)
kurúwatha hutchindu – he untied himself and escaped (a reference to an Ancient who was tied up by enemies during a fight but who untied himself [*kurúa háku*: to untie oneself] and escaped)
kanyupíka – the place of the sweet potato (*yapíka*)
hwanidya – the creek of the pigs (*hwaní*)
ewahubo – the lake of the birds
miwave – the bird place
emiheria – the creek of the sweet waters
hurédo – the place of the doves
takaikoriba – the place where the maize grew
yavibü kurábü – the buttocks of the jaguar rock (a reference to a sharp rock upon which an Ancient sat down to rest; the rock penetrated his rectum and killed him)
teviaria – the place of the milk palm
yavíhoba – the garden of the jaguar
kamine – the place where the *kamíndü* turned to stone
kwunkwüntoto – the place where *Kwünkwü* settled (a reference to an Ancient who decided not to be human and so turned himself back into an anaconda)
veabo münháru – (a place within a creek where there are háku and puño fish)
wari paní – the place of *Warí* (a forest monster, addressed by an Ancient as "in-law" [*paní*])
konéndobo – the hill of the woodpeckers
komórü kendákwe – the rocky rapids where *Komóri* lived (a reference to a *Bahúkiwa* Ancient)
makapímbo – the parrot beak rock
úbo – the place of *U* (the sloth)
táwü – the place of the bark-cloth trees
udyébo pedíwa – the rocks carved with manioc graters (*pedíwa*)
namáwa – the place of the deer
kudjúpanwa – the place of the small parakeets
Opómbibekü – (a dwarf whose penis was the length of an arm)

kenánokakü – the place of the stone people (a reference to figures of people in stone in the highlands of the Cuduiarí)

FREE TRANSLATION

The people came out and shed their anaconda skins. They went on to the place of the star ray rock, where they crossed over the milky waters. They came to the rock where the minnows pass, to the hill called *kanúrübo*, and then to the rapids of the four channels. They came to *bwühûrükûwü*, the rock where *Bwü* [Agouti] jumped across the rapids of *byátakwe*, at the place of the pepper plants. They came to the place of *Kwákü* the Ancient, and then to the place of *Borikakü* the Ancient, at the place where he spilled the milk of the tree as he was drinking it. They came to the place of the worm people, and to the tree across a stream under which *Bwü* passed. They came to the rock of the jaguar, where an Ancient killed a jaguar and it turned into a rock. They came to the beach of the monkey, where an Ancient killed a monkey and it turned to sand. They came to the river bank of the jaguar, where a jaguar, failing to scale the high bank, took fright at the sight of an Ancient and dashed into a tree, where it became transfixed. They came to the beach of the kumari plant, where an Ancient cut down a kumari bush and it turned to sand. They came to the place of the war club, where an Ancient, coming for a drink of water, met a kinsman. They quarreled and the Ancient clubbed his kinsman to death. They came to the place called "milk of the tree," where an Ancient passed out a calabash of palm tree milk. There, at the rock called "drinking milk," they drank it.

They came to the place of rushing waters, a whirlpool of milk, to the rapids of the dove, where a dove dropped into the water and turned into a rock. They came to the beach of the many small fish, and to the rock where the amári tree grew. They came to the point of the rock, and there the Ancients crossed over to reside. They stopped here and made pottery vessels. Then they crossed a hill and there they resided, at the hill of the hán han bird. They paused at the rocky hill of milk, the place where the hán han birds played. They came to the rock of the marúku monkey, where they killed a marúku and it turned into a rock. They came to the high bank which the Ancients looked upon with the rounded eyes of wonderment. They went upriver and they passed through the passage of spume, out into the black waters of *pidári*, at the head of the *wanindo* creek. Here an Ancient made a burrow and left in it a calabash of milk. At this place, called "the trail of milk," they left the river to reside on a high hill at the bend of *kawírebo* [where the Cuduiarí enters the Vaupés]. They went on and came to *kwitótedo*, to *kwitóteku*, and to *nyemí hwainéndi* [where Mitú now stands]. There, at the milky creek, at the slippery rock, at the stream of blood where the waters are reddened by the rays of the sun, there the Ancients arrived and there they lived. From there they explored upriver and then came back to *hivéda*.

They returned and drank milk, the cold milk at the rapids from which they had emerged. There they came to live, at the place where the waters were like milk, at the lake of the yellow clay. Then they went on until they came to the place of the *námúkoriba* fish [near the mouth of the Cuduiarí]. And then they passed a rapids that was like an urn of milk. There they came upon their in-laws. They were already at the greasy creek, at the

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place of the closed-off creek [a site above Garaffo Lake on the Cuduiarí]. Above them was the whirlpool of Guassí and the fast black waters. There, at the whirlpool of the tree trunk, at *hivahapunáwũ*, at the place of parrots' wings, they portaged overland and they quickly arrived at the place of the *bupékũ* butterflies, at the lake shaped like a container for curare.

They came to the place of many grubs which they cooked into a stew. They came to the high bank where the water rushes in with a sucking sound, to the place of the tangle of roots. They came to the place of the jaguars, to *mahópanwa warindo*, to the place of the bark-cloth fishes, to the creek of the *mimíkũ* bird, and then to the place of the pupunha trees. From there they returned and they came to the creek of the *wakúdjari* fruit, to *tcipédikoriba* and *tcipéũ tavéno*, and then to the slippery place, and then to the bank of the yellow clay, and then to *tuibũ*, where the creek of the red fish is, and then to the hill of the háku fish. Then, at a place called *hororákipúru*, they came to the high bank of mud, and then to the place of the parrots [the present site of the *Bahúkiwa* sib]. At the creek of the parrots they came upon the circular trench called "the circle of women" [because it is the women who dug this trench]. There an Ancient who had been tied up by his enemies managed to free himself and escape. Now they continued up the creek to the place of the sweet potato, and they came to the creek of the wild peccary and then on to the lake of the birds and the bird place.

From there they went up the creek of the sweet waters to the place of the doves. And then they went to the place where maize grew and then to the sharp jaguar rock. Here an Ancient, sitting down on the rock, pierced his rectum and died. They went on to the place of the milk palm, to the garden of the jaguar, to the place where the *kamindũ* turned to stone. They came to *kwũnkwũntoto*, where *Kwũnkwũ* the Ancient decided to settle down. [This is the *Bahúkiwa* Ancient who later decided that he did not care to be human and turned himself back into an anaconda.]

The Ancients moved on to the place of the háku and puño fish, to the place of *Warí* the in-law, the hill of the woodpeckers, to the rocky rapids where *Komóri* the Ancient settled down, then to the parrot beak rock, then to the place of the sloth, then to the place of the bark-cloth trees, then to the rocks of the manioc graters, then to the place of the deer, and then to the place of the small parakeets, where *Opómbibekũ* lived [a dwarf with an enormous penis]. Finally, they went to the place of the stone people [at the head of the Cuduiarí].

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TRADITIONAL NAMES IN THE *BAHÚKIWA* GENEALOGIES

MALE

Aribahdkũ
Arienakũ
Bahúkũ
Bahúkũbekũdjo
Bahúkũdjitca
Bekũbo
Bwũ
Hardhũ

MALE

Kwũnkwũ or
Kwdhũnkwũ
Miabekudjo
Onpóhena
Onpwdenba
Onpwénda
Onpwéndabu
Onpwéndakũ

FEMALE

Bahúko
Hehénabo
Hendako
Hendhuwa
Iho
Ihoruko
Kohdhenako
Kohdiko

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602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are
permanently held together by common residence in the respective
degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, com-
munity, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual ter-
ritory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical
closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In
[574] any case they share common traditions and the highly significant
bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kins-
man whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are trav-
601 eling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the
thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother."
602 Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwd*, an apt term that means
[193] literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix
indicating the animate collective.)

593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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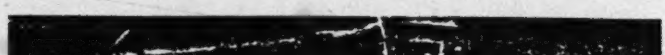

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

593 riliny, the closest of all. On occasions uterine brothers form a common front from which brothers of the same father but of different mothers are excluded. A father expects his sons to stand by him and not by their mother, who is a sib outsider. Yet the simple fact that a woman keeps her own children close to her side, lavishing upon them all her attentions and affection, and ignoring, as much as she can afford, the other of her husband's children by other wives, creates a basis in sentiment for a maternal attachment that no amount of official sib doctrine can override. The attachment to the mother is recognizable in modes of behavior, such as intimacy or susceptibility to cleavage. Uterine brothers also quarrel and part, but they are unlikely to drift apart as readily as can mere agnatic brothers. However, kinship terms draw no distinction between uterine and agnatic brothers. A woman addresses all her husband's sons by the same term, just as her husband does.

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601 The term for brother of the closest degree embraces lineage as well as blood brothers. Still, a distinction of sorts does enter into kinship usage, through a sister. A girl, as a mother's helper, has a very important role in looking after younger children of the household. Her first responsibility is to her uterine siblings. Like her mother she favors the boy child over the girl. In later years she still calls her younger uterine brother by the affectionate term *tcumí*, while reserving the conventional term, *hiyokü*, for an agnatic younger brother. Women, however, take more liberties, generally, in the use of kin terms than do men. They are particularly free with terms that define nearness and intimacy. Thus, a sister's discrimination between uterine and agnatic brother may be regarded not as official usage but as a special female prerogative.

As to formal principles of kinship, the distinction between uterine
[595] and agnatic brothers is of no great importance. Most marriages are
monogamous and in most families there are no stepchildren. Headmen, however, are generally polygynous, and it is in their households
622 that the distinction assumes some importance. Since a headman's
593 household is a focal point of sib activity, whatever occurs within it
595 will affect the state of being within the sib and ultimately its unity.
● 614 Should a cleavage develop among brothers of different wives of the
headman it could split the sib. Cleavages develop around rivalry for position. A headman's sons are inclined to model themselves after the father and to seek leadership of the community. Since the mantle of leadership will in any case fall upon one of them they are, in any case, virtually obligated to seek leadership. Thus it appears, paradoxically, that the line of cleavage in a sib tends to form at its very

622 593 595 614 [562]

center in all respects, among the blood brothers, who are the sons of the headman, the very symbol and guardian of the unity of the sib. The Cubeo attribute the source of this "fault" in the sib to the unruly and passionate nature of women, that does not adapt itself readily to the requirements of the sib. The women are said to be at fault in having drawn their sons too closely to them and in having divided the sons of one wife from those of another. Men deplore this, yet they concede that it is in the nature of a woman to do so. Much of the formal and ceremonial relationship between men and women seems to be designed to overcome this feminine and maternal influence.

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All sibling terms indicate relative seniority. If the terms refer to near siblings, that is, to siblings of the same sib, their seniority refers strictly to relative age. When sibling terms are used among members of different sibs in the phratry, then the forms of senior-junior indicate respect. An older person may then use the senior term in addressing a younger person. Men may use the senior term in referring to a member of a higher-ranking clan, or, apart from formal rank, to pay respect to a phratry mate who has been generous. Among the Cubeo, rank and seniority are marked by giving more than receiving. Thus, a generous and hospitable person can come to be an "older brother." Women pay respect to men by using the senior term — outside the sib — rather freely. It is a pleasing relationship for a woman to have an older brother and for a man to have a younger sister. When a woman addresses a man as "younger brother" she cannot help but endow the term with an almost maternal tenderness. She finds it more comfortable, one might say, to address a more distant sibmate as "older brother."

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There is a more formal usage of terms of relative seniority that acknowledges the ranking of sibs. My information of these seniority usages, coming only from the *Bahúkiwa*, is therefore incomplete. According to the *Bahúkiwa*, all men of the head *Órabawa* sib who are of one's own generation are addressed as *mamü*, the stem term for "older brother," while the reciprocal term that is applied to them by the *Órabawa* is *hwa*, the stem term for "youngster." In the case of the *Bahúkiwa* relations with three sibs of the phratry, the *Pedikwa*, the *Kenénikauwü*, and the *Piaráwa*, the women of the *Bahúkiwa* address the women of these three as *amikó*, the somewhat more distant form for "older sister," and are called in turn *hwainyó*, or "youngster." Though in the case of the *Órabawa* the seniority usage applies only to the men, in the latter case the usage applies only to the women. My informants could not account for the latter usages

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614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedíkwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract
on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kendnikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedíkwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piaráwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Old-Piaráwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of
a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[614] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves
[796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line
also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi* are
also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

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562 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
796 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere-
mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a
headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi-
[593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a
mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn
the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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so an older brother is *amyóbakü* (older brother-father) to his younger 593
sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her 561
sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in [584]
many respects. [836]

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate 601
social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees 193
of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant
phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device
of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior
term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance
or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root
for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi*
and the gender suffix *ko* or *kü* (*himámiko, -kü*) it connotes utmost
closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family,
including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and 601
lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The [614] ●
term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's
daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange
marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage,
that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to
be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long
period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency
to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's
brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a
coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant
category.

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of [614]
all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may
even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, [615]
in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology
is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms
used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys 601
the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also 193
used in the term *baküdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one
who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who
is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has
no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute
no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably
with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikʉ* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

601 [554] [614] Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamʉ* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamʉ* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

601 561 The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankʉ* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

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BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while (593] somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of neces- 614 613
sity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a ho- 602
mologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the
importance of seniority notwithstanding. 593

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled 593
rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in
respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects 462
there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She
makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the 462
women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, 178
while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. 43
The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but
will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Simi- 593
larly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle- [465]
loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, 462
we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals
while the men take over the food preparation — with the assistance 252
of the women — for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a
spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it
is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of 796
the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One 562
of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young 885
are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male [571]
park that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the [857]
little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of
their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a [244]
manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating
particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is [581]
gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship pro-
vides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, 593
serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of mar- 182
riages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a 885
very strong need for particularized relationships.

hand, the assigned sister can be counted on to act in her brother's behalf and to accept the exchange marriage. On the other, if his bride should leave him he believes that he can ask his sister to leave her husband so that accounts will be squared. This arrangement does not work perfectly, but it works well. 58 593

Not every young man has a sister assigned to him. The son of a headman who is in line for the succession has preference, as has a favored son, since it is the parents who play an important part in establishing this relationship. In the case of an apparent heir to the headmanship the assigned sister enhances his status in two ways. It makes him part of an adult status economic relationship in that he has a woman "working" for him and it smoothes the way for his marriage. 593 622 [182] [885]

I could get no term for this rather specialized brother-sister relationship. Ordinary relationships between [illegible] and sister lack the specific economic exchange features. L[illegible]e intensity of the paired relationship, the ordinary relationship is still charged with considerable emotion. 593

From the point of view of the sib, the brother-sister relationship may be considered as a source of holding women to the sib even after they have taken up residence in another sib. There is the curious expectation that a woman will some day come back to her own sib. She will do this as a widow or after a break in her marriage. When a young man is on his way to his "affinal" sib to bring back a wife his parents say to him, half in jest, "Try to make your sister come home." The symbolic act of marriage for the Cubeo is the drama of a "marriage by capture." The groom seizes the bride, who protests, and carries her forcibly to the beach and into his canoe. Her outcries bring her kinsmen on the run, who then try to prevent her "abduction" by cudgeling the groom. This dramatic enactment makes the point that the bride is unwilling to leave her sib and that her kin are determined not to let her go. It is a strong demonstration of attachment that soothes the feelings of the sib and particularly of the brother. It satisfies the sentiment that no one wishes to leave the sib. 593 614 182 582

The relationship between brother and sister may also be considered in the context of the sib origin myth which states that the founders of a sib were always a brother-sister pair who only later entered into exchange marriages. The tradition of the *Bahúkiwa* sib that a woman re-established the sib after all her brothers had been killed by enemies illustrates still again the Cubeo sentiment that a woman really belongs to her sib. Thus a sib has a female ancestress as well as a male ancestor. 593 614

already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this 593
point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. [595]
Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother
is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping [604]
of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in
behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which 601
means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law 604
because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage [582]
partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal
avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of 606
residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law. [601]

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. [591]
He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship.
The important relationship is between a woman and her father- [604]
in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The [601]
father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery
he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between
father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but
never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the
in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law (614)
as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled
with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he
calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily
contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law
from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may (601)
refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law
and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But
when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly
welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit [574]
of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law
is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong
his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only 604
partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities be- 601
tween their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as 614
"youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the
common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively
hwainyó and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* –
an in-law – but the daughter is not. She enters the household as
hwainkó. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó*
is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

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614 a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage
[601] with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their
feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children.
There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if
[615] they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters
marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in
[582] effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are
not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such
parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kü*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to
601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective
614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals
615 (*panaihinkü*, *-ko* and *hipanimekü*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between
a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry.
The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which
affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkü* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekü* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of
sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that
at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-
601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the
[593] Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister
negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so
[584] would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a contribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I
[614] have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himákümakü* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of
the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred
[614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children
consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the
[615] reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child"
or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted
that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others
so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiarí
then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

The ceremonial friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expecta- 572 tion of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their rela- 614 tionship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least 615 the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. 572 Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes.

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic 572 play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge [832] in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*.

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial 572 friends: A man of a *Bahükiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He 431 gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend.

The relationship between *hikü* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by 572 the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikü* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his

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Marriage

● 614 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the
615 sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course,
from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition
against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs
to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such
marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone
from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood
[626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence
marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though
614 they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence
597 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue
of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo
have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*,
was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite
phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided.
The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the
marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised
by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since
the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume
582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between
age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make
a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so
192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomíkükü*, meaning
simply "woman getting."

There is a strong preference for taking a wife from the same sib from which one's mother has come. This establishes a pattern of cross-cousin marriage and creates a very close bond between the maternal and paternal sibs. The *Bahúkiwa*, for example, are closely intermarried with the *Byówa*[1] and the relations between these two sibs accordingly are cordial, even warm, in contrast to the stiff relationships that generally prevail between sibs of opposite phratries. Preferential marriage into the mother's sib arises naturally from the strong bonds of affection and of formal relationship between brother and sister. The principal way in which brother and sister maintain their ties even after marriage has separated them is by arranging for the marriage of their children to one another. We have seen that the grandchild is called a "little affinal," a designation that I have taken to mean that a man, having arranged for his son to marry his sister's daughter, regards the offspring as a contribution by the affinal sib to his own. He has the satisfaction of regarding his sister as responsible for this. She has succeeded in getting something from the "other" sib over to his sib. In this way, exchange, which is the greatest of human binders, is kept active. 614 ● [593]

From the point of view of the boy, marriage with a father's sister's daughter also seems most natural and certainly convenient. Having had virtually no opportunities for courtship, he does not know where to go for a bride. His father suggests that he visit his aunt in his mother's sib and his mother is delighted that her son will visit her kin. There is no more desirable guest than a boy who is visiting both his father's sister and his mother's kin. The warmth with which he is received should put even the shyest boy at ease. There are, to be sure, other opportunities for finding a bride, but by and large even the most aggressive young men still prefer to go to a community where the way has been smoothed for them. Since Indians travel mainly to visit kinfolk they are more or less bound to marry a woman from a sib from which, if not the mother, then a brother's wife has been taken. 614 584

Work in the rubber forests has broadened opportunities for marriage because men from different tribes are brought together and form friendships that allow them to visit one another and to exchange sisters. But even with these opportunities the preference for marriage into the mother's sib is still strong. A boy's parents will have opened the negotiations for him. There is no formal betrothal, but there is a kind of understanding that a particular marriage will [464] [571]

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[1] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* marriages at the end of this chapter.

584 take place, although, it must be emphasized, these are never binding. Marriage is always thought of in terms of a boy getting a wife. A [589] girl thinks a great deal about getting a husband, but her parents prefer not to think about that. The Cubeo know bachelors but not spinsters. Parents of a boy have in mind a little girl somewhere, [583] usually in the maternal sib, as a wife for their son. Unable to bespeak her – a girl is bespoken only as a result of a brother-sister exchange marriage in which her brother has already taken possession of his wife – they keep an eye on her, waiting for her to grow up. She may marry someone else, in which case their disappointment will be keen although they will have no grounds for complaint.

614 583 584 There comes a day when a boy's parents say to him that there is a girl ready for marriage and that he ought to go and see if he can bring her home. If it is not the second stage of a brother-sister exchange marriage they will not say to him that they have already pursued the matter with the parents on the other side, through earlier exchanges of visits or through an emissary. Out of deference for his feelings should he fail to get the bride, they may instruct him as though he were going to broach marriage for the first time. If the girl is "vowed" to the sib his instructions are simply to bring her back, or, failing that, to take back his sister.

614 583 584 574 The young man sets out with a party of sibmen, some of his age group and some of his father's age group. The parents may come along, because a woman welcomes this chance for a home visit. A party does not necessarily announce itself as a wedding party. They prefer to announce upon arriving that they have come only to visit. If the parents are not to accompany the party, the father assembles the marriage party in the plaza and, in the presence of the entire community, instructs his son in the exchange procedures. If it is the completion of an exchange marriage he recapitulates the history of the earlier marriage, the promises of exchange that have been made, and declares what is due the sib. In an exchange marriage a particular girl has been promised and a substitute has usually been indicated if the girl who has been promised is unwilling. There is also the question of supplementary gifts to the bride's parents, such as a small canoe, a gun, ornaments, and the like, that the father authorizes his son to offer. If this is to be the initial marriage, from which an exchange will follow, the boy is instructed to say which sister or other girl of the sib will be offered. Under any circumstances both bride and groom have the option of deciding that they do not care for one another. This option is no mere formality and many a marriage party has had to settle for a social visit alone because the prin-

cipals in the marriage were not attracted to each other. It is to avoid 614 ●
this embarrassment that the marriage party does not declare its 583
intentions. They announce that they have come to visit relatives. They 584
are made welcome, assigned to sleeping quarters, and are drawn into 574
the general round of activities of the house. They may stay for many weeks. The groom-to-be joins in the activities of his age group, hunting and fishing with them. He spends part of his time in making gifts for his host's wife, who need not be the prospective mother-in-law, and for the mother-in-law-to-be as well, if he has been a guest in her household. He may make baskets, trays, or a hammock. Every woman treasures an object that a suitor has made. These objects, however, are not presented as marriage gifts but as offerings in return for hospitality.

The courtship itself is a slow process. For some time the prospective bride and groom virtually avoid one another. The young man is attentive to the other girls of the sib, and his own age mates, if single, act as though they are courting the prospective bride. They are all looking one another over. The young man's personality is evaluated, and his skills in hunting, fishing, and crafts are observed. The visiting party, for its part, makes close observations on the bride-to-be. The nature of this opening phase of the courtship in which bride and groom are being "looked over" is such that unexpected matches are sometimes made. It has happened that a boy who has been flirting with his bride-to-be's sister to divert attention from his real objective falls in love with her. Or the sister falls in love with the suitor and seeks her betrothed sister's permission to marry him. This happened among the *Bahúkiwa*. A man, having reached the final stages of courtship with a girl, had arranged the formal elopement tryst with her. At the end it was the sister who appeared, explaining that it was she who wanted to marry him, with her sister's consent. The suitor was not disappointed, and all went well.

If the young man is satisfied with the bride-to-be the party prolongs 614
its stay. Otherwise it leaves quickly. Once it has decided to stay, the 584
groom awaits a sign of acceptance from the girl. One of the first in- [574]
dications of sexual interest that she shows is to run rather than walk [481]
in his presence. When the older folk see a girl running when she should be walking they smile knowingly at one another. One day she throws a handful of manioc mash in his face in the presence of company and laughs at him. He pretends anger and moves upon her. She pretends fright and runs off to her manioc garden, where he
overtakes her. They have coitus and they are then engaged. She may [831]
show her interest in other ways, pinching him or cuffing him as she

614 584 [836] [832] [789] walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of these is an extract of *tiwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

614 583 584 (601) Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

614 574 583 584 It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community — the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

614 619 574 583 584 This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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[114]

marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahúkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted, or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken

[582]

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583 for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the head-
584 man and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their
574 canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatüyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatüyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatüyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatüyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatüyo* husband than of her *Bahükiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatüyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We
[614] did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

581 Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

583 Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the
585 "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her
614 to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own 583
companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe 585
landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence 614
satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers.

Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, re- 184
ported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible 583
seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some 585
variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not (114)
seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own.

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invari- 585
ably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and 593
the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of 606
affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law,

585 593 606 knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

585 586 593 614 If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings [837] her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

585 586 593 614 182 These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a prolonged marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc garden, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

595 Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

586 Divorce is easy and rather frequent during the early years of marriage. Most often it is the woman who leaves her husband, for the general reason that she does not like him and, more rarely, because he beats her. If a woman has no intention of going back to her husband she returns home, re-enters her parents' household, and her husband has no further claim upon her. If she is undecided, she claims the hospitality of a neighboring sib and awaits a reconciliation. A marriage is not officially severed, on the woman's part, unless she returns home. She cannot run away with another man and expect to avoid trouble. Men send wives away mainly because they are barren. [842] The Cubeo have no other official view of infertility than that the woman is using an abortifacient. They therefore tend to view barrenness as a hostile act. A wife who is asked to leave has no choice but to do so. Her grown children are expected to remain behind in their own sib, while the nursing baby accompanies the mother.

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684 The most common source of marital discord that may also lead to divorce is adultery. From quarrels that erupt during drinking parties the impression is created that adultery is very common. Almost invariably it is the woman who is blamed, partly because women commonly are sexually aggressive, and partly because that is the least disruptive view to take of the matter; it does least damage to the important male solidarity of the sib.

614

BAHÚKIWA MARRIAGES

Byówa	14	*Tatúyo*	3
Uanana	7	*Siriana*	2
Mianduwa	5	*Buébowa*	1
Hüriüwä	4	*Hurédariwa*	1
Koróawa	4	Karapana	1
Yuriti	4	*Piratapúyo*	1
Djurémawa	3	*Tóriawü*	1
Konéntaraboiwü	3		

622

571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókü* and *kendmi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment [592] is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kendmi upákü*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus 622 not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, 614 such as the *Orabawa*, *Aünbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and 554 those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [701] man. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bahúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

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[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one 301 302
might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes 554
derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have
no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it [186]
is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on
its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child
is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common
denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body
painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of [856]
children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the
necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around [437]
Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which
all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various
seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments
and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are
proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply
pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment
applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always
in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an 554
adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the 292
red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different 237
birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of
monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, [285]
are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box
where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper
order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* [427]
borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can
take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set [622]
of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to [422]
possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete
mápena, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream [614] ●
Hehénewa were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a
mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy 292
in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not 614
make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan 432
tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers 554
has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own
the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power [754]

292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz
[789] cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since
301 stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
554 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
[756] major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[437] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[614] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox*
with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grün-
[184] berg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano,
where even children wore them.[2]

HEADMANSHIP

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613 The headmanship, whether of *habókü* status or *kenámi upákü*, normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

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[135] [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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692 No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

622 ● 614 574 273 156 [554] [472] Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

622 614 571 578 156 [157] The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

622 648 156 [614] The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

600 There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no 643
one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were 622
chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the
same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have 114
powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg,
who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always
told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas
had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great
chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there
he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization
among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now.

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all 622
neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing 171
the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship
is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to
his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to
someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only
with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman
among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests
and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it
that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of
time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order
but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with
the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took
him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the
oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not [888]
quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, [554]
to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man
who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a
headman.

LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the 622
headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often 627
a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community
that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly
discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective (614)
of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers,
and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however,
serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery,
chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment
is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm

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627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit.
He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded
administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious
[673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in
the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrongdoer
always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent
of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he
deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps
just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died
622 down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman
627 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, together
574 with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave,
they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman himself,
● 614 picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the
unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party
[182] seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and
settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable
574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others,
usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his
reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members
of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger
in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal motive.
578 They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged
574 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo
quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually
622 strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get
hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the
headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy
with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A
headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a ceremonial
578 friend has joined a fight without asking his permission.
Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels.
574 Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo,
[572] is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity
to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually
closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be
remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new
fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members
of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no
[614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. 682 [614]
However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault.

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when [593]
his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. [578]
This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a [763]
monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [825]
In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625]
however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697]
and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682
no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593
only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266]
crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762]
he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683
Bahúkiwa man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685
pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihi*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihi* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276]
is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does
occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that
his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent
woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman
that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman
and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatüyo*. In the
case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders
are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless compounded
[562] by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery,
never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly
regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences
of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel.
An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the husband
684 or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman,
622 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by
● 614 emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example
574 illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahúkiwa*, when intoxication
was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman
suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him
of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The
son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained
quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon
the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and
began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing
men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the
face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned.
The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A
few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another
man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the proprieties
684 of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to request
coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger
622 unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the
834 errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

883 The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to
accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is reviled
684 as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s difficulties
[773] with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes
his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her
manioc garden.

Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. 754
Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine [753]
men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering [761]
mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning" is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In 683
all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

754 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the
694 hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All
residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the vic-
tim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and
evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge
is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other
names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire dis-
cussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are
brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle
[756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of
the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his
diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man
[622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The head-
man is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the
evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need
not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they
decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused
if he can refute the charges.

WARFARE (*bwaino*)

721 People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one
[615] another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently ex-
changed wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from
● [614] Querarí killed Hühü, an old *Bahükiwa* who was then living at
Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the
Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants,
and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a
plundering raid. When they killed Hühü and others in his house
they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One
old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout
the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for
[614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a
[648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cu-
duiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban,
Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas
raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could
move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war
[114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert.
I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward
[723] evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

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Development of the Individual

The development of individual character is always relevant to an 121
understanding of social organization. In the case of Cubeo social 621
organization, founded, as it is, upon the lifelong continuity of the
sibling group of males, the psychological factors are of particular
importance. The following discussion will attempt to show the relationship
between some of the experiences of a Cubeo from infancy
to adulthood and some of the formal principles of Cubeo social
organization. By and large, Cubeo social organization must conform
to the direct psychological dispositions of its members for the commanding
reason that the people have a low tolerance for psychic discomfort.
The sib, as we have noted, is readily split; this means, in [614] ●
psychological terms, that those who find any cause for dissatisfaction
with life within the community are quick to leave. The community, [578]
therefore, is constantly being drained of its malcontents. Those who
remain are, in a manner of speaking, in harmony with one another.
This harmony, it should be said at once, is not that of homogeneity.
It is based rather upon individual complementarities, of extraversion-introversion,
active-passive, and leader-follower, as in any community.
The harmony is between the requirements of adult life and
the experiences of childhood.

The Cubeo use the following age-grade terms. The nursing infant 561
from birth until it learns to crawl is called *abohoidjö* (male) or 192
abohokö (female); a crawling infant is *tcumi* (male or female, although
tcúmiko is possible for the female); the walking child who

smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act be- 846
lieved to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, 789
scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows
the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the
burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press any- 846
thing, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child
from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the
child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction
and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned
home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of [789]
these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by
cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle
his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by club-
bing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales
from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not
drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chi-
cha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk
on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will
get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyd*) and is 551
not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given 851
a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child [789]
comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. [856]
To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to
understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much 826
they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in [192]
itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is
bahü and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem,
bahümikü (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is con- 553
ducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the 603
name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the 789
house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather re-
peatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father 593
accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's [272]
mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to
emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it [614]
grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth [856]
magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed
by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

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603 father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which
789 is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in
mihi, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees
[604] bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the
553 bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I ob-
[114] served among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour
before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but
before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe,
[614] is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late after-
[574] noon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the
Hehénewa case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drink-
ing party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which
553 is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of
603 ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa
593 with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk.
The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks
the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and
[856] the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger
into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to
make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The
father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the
[826] child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where
[775] it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at
death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul
to escape at the proper time.

553 Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming
614 ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me
533 by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it
[114] among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant
and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly de-
[124] fined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely
[184] and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is
only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ances-
tor, *Uráhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not ex-
plain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious
reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It
may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an
553 irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by in-
614 formants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

533 People of our soil
539 The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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They are given milk
Milk of our soil
Milk that causes to grow
People who are being grown
People of our soil
People who are our younger sisters
Milk of the calabash
Milk that makes one grow quickly
Milk of our soil
People of our soil
People who are our younger brothers
The first one to grow fat
He [also] will grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
Milk that is nourishing that will make [him] fat
People of our soil
Uráhana who was the first to grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
He will grow fat
Milk that is liquid
Milk that is nourishing
The manioc gruel that is nourishing
Milk of our land
People of our land
Uráhana was the first one
The manioc gruel that he ate
The milk that was given to him.

Milk of our soil
That our offspring may grow
That we may all grow
Milk of the calabash
The offspring of *Uráhana*[*]
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of the calabash it drank
A child was being born to *Uráhana*
The offspring of *Uráhana*
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of our soil
She saw him grow
The son of *Hihédü*
Her fat offspring
Milk of our soil
She saw them grow

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[*] The first child was born to *Hehénewa* Ancients *Uráhana* and his wife *Hihédü*. *Djurédo* was the sister of *Uráhana* and she gave the child milk drawn from her own breast into a calabash.

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533 Milk of the calabash
539 Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hikédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Uráhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

854 Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection,
[157] a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant.
[515] Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early
[296] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo
[252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and
854 if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I
155 once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow
[853] log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually
[853] impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to
[831] make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's
000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister. 855

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother. [562]

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play pack is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father, but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement. 857 [614] ● [593] [231]

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed, but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days they had become *taintürü* birds. They returned to the house and lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa* but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so
can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely
be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [789]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter. [856]
The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
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[887] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert
[614] three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo
say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen
[881] intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties
[833] during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially,
[844] the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates
at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus,
[821] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paünwe bebiko* (one who has not
[881] yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupüni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be
881 secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking
nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete,
[514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she
[826] will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or
else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To
[515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that
[302] creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully
pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until
her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is
a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by
the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her
daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me
[515] see how much pain you can stand."

[302] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa
and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is
[574] held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take
part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women
and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

114 When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them
881 she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for
proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did
not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party.
756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father
881 Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano
the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her
hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the
girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the
change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and
takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to
her mother's household.

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[3] She is also known as *nominyaivi* (becoming a woman).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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CUBEO

Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within 83
the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and 15
older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives
are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the
early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic [821]
relationship with *aryá*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector
of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how
much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is
only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors
and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic
which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is
interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses
such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married
he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion
then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances
to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying
outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest.
Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor
apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting.
Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar
as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a
serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment.
Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for
the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an
affair with an older married man, and second because very few young
men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An
older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged
husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the [684]
sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young [614]
man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must [182]
fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys
are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance.
Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites [648]
in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem
for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male
who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the 888
aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963

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cently split a new canoe while spreading it. It was decided to substitute 764
the split canoe. The canoe was cut in half, one end serving as
the bottom and the other as the top of the coffin.[8] When the canoe
was ready, the headman and three sib elders untied the hammock in
which the dead man was lying and brought the corpse, bound in the
hammock, to the canoe half that lay alongside the grave. The Cubeo
prefer not to handle a corpse, except to caress it as a gesture of grief
and affection. The corpse is wrapped in its hammock in the same
way in which household effects are wrapped in it for transportation.
The corpse lying in the hammock had naturally assumed a moderately
flexed position, the knees drawn up and the hands folded
across the abdomen. They laid it carefully in the canoe, face down.
A woman of the sib brought a gourd dish that had a hole drilled in it
and placed it over the old man's head. The dish is for use in the afterlife
and the hole is for breathing. A young man brought up the sib's
behórll, dance staff and pennant of all social ceremonial. He broke it
in two and laid the pieces alongside the corpse. From what I had been
told about burial practices I had expected that all the personal effects
of the old man would be buried with him. When I asked they
shrugged and said, "He won't need them." Koch-Grünberg, among 764
the *Hehénewa*, reported, on the other hand, that a man is buried 184
with his dance feathers, which are laid upon his breast. His bow and
arrows, fishing gear, and other possessions are burned upon the
grave. A woman's trays and dishes are burned and her pots broken
up and thrown into the woods. These things must be disposed of, he
observed, to prevent the dead from coming back. Presumably burial
practices have changed to some degree. When I was among the *Hehénewa* 764
they were not burying a man's ceremonial feathers with 184
him, but used them in the mourning ceremony as a representation 178
of the deceased.

The entire community had gathered to watch the preparations for 764
burial. Men and women wept, except those men who were handling
the burial. The widow punctuated the weeping with her own loud
wails. The top of the canoe was lashed into place and the canoe was
lowered by ropes into the grave by four men. All the men of the sib [614] ●
crowded over the grave and reached into it to touch the canoe, weeping
unrestrainedly.

Through all of the first stage of mourning the children had taken

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[8] An alternative method of burial is in a large pottery jar. Urn burial is preferred for women and children, who may not have a canoe. In their tales the Cubeo do not mention canoe burial at all. They speak of the body as put in a large urn in a sitting position.

764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 ● [614] [615] In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

[587] Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 773 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent. A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

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FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON

537 539 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

that are specifically identified as the *Bekûpwänwa*, and that are used 534
in the whipping and initiation ceremonies as well as in ritual
bathing.

1. *Emihehika* (also known as *haraibipobû*: whipping staff) is a wide-mouth trumpet of bark wound within a framework of splints. It has a short palm-tube mouthpiece set into a ceramic plate that is mounted firmly to the upper end of the bark. This trumpet is some 30 inches long.
2. *Kwûhünku* (also known as *Uménahonkü*) is also a wide-mouth bark trumpet that is over five feet long and is played with one end resting on the ground.
3. *Bwü* (Agouti) is a long flute of a black palm, also with a mouthpiece set in a clay mount and with two external reeds bound around an opening toward the top. It is about four feet long.
4. *Onpwénda* is a flute similar to *Bwü* except that it has no separate mouthpiece and is only some 30 inches long.
5. *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* is identical with *Onpwénda* and is the length of a man's forearm. It is the shortest of the flutes.

Bwü and *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* are said to be the strongest and 769
fiercest of the ancestors and are esteemed for the vigor with which
they whip. They are referred to as *parihihekü* (very powerful beings). [614]
Bwü is, of course, the founding ancestor of the *Bahúkiwa*.

Among the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí the largest bark-wound [534]
trumpet is also called *Uménahonkü*. Koch-Grünberg translated this
name correctly as "Dragonfly." The name, however, is that of a first [614]
ancestor of the *Hehénewa*.

The whipping rites, the Cubeo say, go back to the "first people," 769
who were taught what to do by *Kúwai*. At the beginning, however, it 534
was women who played the flutes and trumpets. They spent so much
time on play that they did nothing else. *Kúwai* corrected this. He 773
took the instruments from the women and gave them to the men,
warning them never to allow the women to get them back.[a] This is [784]
the story that is cited to explain why the instruments are taboo to

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[a] A variant account states that the *Bekûpwänwa* had belonged to the women and that the men were afraid of them. The women came out of the forest bearing the instruments and the men ran away in fear. Then *Dekókü* (Ghost person) learned about this and said, "Women have no right to this." He came down to witness the ceremony of the women. He saw only women and he said to them, "You are women, you have no right to this. Now I am going to take this away from you." He brought the instruments to the men and laid them on their forearms. When the women had the *Bekûpwänwa* they danced all the time and never worked. After the men had received the instruments they allowed one old woman to see them. She turned insane and they had to kill her. Since then women have not been allowed to see the *Bekûpwänwa*.

769 796 [614] taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

[222] [857] All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door. [273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] [276] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwü* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwü* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*hardmu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

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[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed heads. Whipping is called *harathume* (*harat*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

769 796 be whipped violently to the center of the dance floor. He chose an eight-year-old boy, his own son. Normally the most amiable of men, he glowered at the boy, and in a harsh voice commanded him to stand straight, his legs together and his arms above his head. The little boy solemnly obeyed. The father faced his son, poised his whip for the first blow, and waited while the dancers circled them once, sounding the ancestor horns. When the dancers had completed one turn, the man inserted the switch in the far end of the horn and stirred it about to "draw from it the power of *Bwü*." He then struck the boy across the loins with such force that the child ran screaming down the corridor toward the door. His father ran after him and without a word dragged him back. The first blow across the loins left a bloody scar on the boy's abdomen and was to impart sexual vigor, which resides inside the horn. The boy's paternal uncle stepped forward and rolled the second *Bwü* horn along the child's back, starting at the calves and rolling it up to the head. This was to impart growth of stature, that resides on the outside of the horn. The boy had now regained his composure, and his father brought him a calabash of chicha. His father whipped him a second time, in the same way, and this time the boy controlled his fright, emitting only a gasp of pain as the whip lashed across his abdomen, raising a second welt. Again the uncle rolled the horn up the back. His father gave him a second calabash of chicha and the boy returned to his place on the bench, where he displayed his scars to his companions, composed and grinning from ear to ear.

[534] Next to be initiated was the son of the headman's sister, the boy who was not of the sib. The same man did the whipping, using not *Bwü* but *Onpwënda*, the least powerful of the three ancestors they were invoking. I concluded that a father would naturally initiate his own son with the most powerful and the very first of the ancestors, while saving the least potent for his cross nephew. [182] When I mentioned this to the man he assured me I was wrong, explaining that it made [614] no difference who was whipped with which ancestor since their blessings went not to any one person, but to all being initiated as well as to the sib as a whole. The important thing, he said, was not to neglect an ancestor who had been brought to the house. I am inclined to accept this explanation with some skepticism, because the Indians always deny inequality as a matter of courtesy, but they recognize it nonetheless. When informants discussed *Bahükiwą* ancestors in general terms they all agreed that it was best to be whipped by *Bwü* because "he is the strongest."

This boy was exceedingly apprehensive. Before the first blow

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The Drinking Party

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614 [615] The drinking party (*unkündye*: chicha, or *unkwinemu*: drinking affair) is the mode of exchange that, generally speaking, governs the relationships among the sibs of the same phratry. Sibs, as I have already noted, do not feast one another, an observation that Koch-Grünberg also made. A sib has its internal drinking parties during which one household head serves chicha to the rest; but the serious and regular drinking parties are those that are held for the purpose of entertaining the sibs of the phratry. I could not determine definitely [554] the pattern of intersib drinking parties, but I believe that an important principle is one of social rank. Higher-ranking downstream settlements prepare chicha more often than do lower-ranking sibs. This accords with the aforementioned Cubeo doctrine that leadership comes from giving and subordination comes from receiving. Drinking party invitations, however, must also be reciprocated, so that over a long enough period of time each sib will have entertained all the others. Since sibs are under no formal obligation to honor a drinking party invitation, the result is that most drinking parties bring together only near sibs who are obligated to attend for personal reasons. Nevertheless, each full-fledged sib plans at least one event during the year when it will have entertained most if not all of its fellow sibs. Attendance at an intersib drinking party is normally by an entire sib although there is flexibility in this.

[182] The drinking parties are of prime importance in unifying the sibs of a phratry. Their frequency and their attendance attest to the state

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates. 614 ● 182

The *unkündye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited [831] to sibs of the phratry, the *unkündye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage [837] adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkündye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkündye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity.

The hosts of an *unkündye* have two very evident anxieties as they 574 go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to 614 allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into 273 chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkündye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If 574 it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the 614 *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As al- 554 ready mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to [12-3] the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy

574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
● 614 *Bahükiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahükiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they sus-
(152) pected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unküindye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unküindye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unküindye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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574 the guests arrive they are asked to drink from the chicha prepared [554] by each cosponsor. Those who do not choose to be cosponsors help in inconspicuous ways. There is honor in being a cosponsor but no competition for the privilege either. A household head feels free to decide when he desires cosponsorship. Those who have the most manioc to spare accept cosponsorship most freely. Major drinking parties are always sponsored by the headman, but smaller parties that bring together only close sibs may be offered in the name of a household head who wants the honor. The headman paternalistically defers to this. Some drinking parties are announced as being sponsored by a group of brothers. Of course if there is a special occasion [562] the household head most closely concerned is expected to be a main sponsor. Women do not sponsor or cosponsor drinking parties except for the father's sister, who as widow or divorcée living in her [182] own sib has the status of a household head. The Cubeo use drinking party sponsorship as a means of dealing with the minor frictions of community life, for cosponsors, by the symbolic act of doing something together, have reaffirmed their closeness. On a larger scale, attendance at drinking parties serves the same function.

574 614 203 The guest list provokes much discussion and entails in a sense a review of the sib's relations with its fellow sibs. An invitation may help achieve a reconciliation or it might yield only a humiliating rebuff. Invitations will be delivered in person, by the headman and by all cosponsors, the headman undertaking the downstream higher-status sibs, the others the upstream lower-ranking sibs. The proper time to deliver an invitation is six days before the event. The host delivers the invitation in a chanting tone during which he does not look at the guest but over his shoulder, and the guest replies in the [201] same manner. The host holds up his hands, palms out and thumbs together. When the thumb of the right hand meets the thumb of the left hand it means there will be drinking. Holding two thumbs together is also a jesting sign, meaning, "Now we are going to drink." The four fingers of the right hand mean days of work, and the right-hand thumb means a day of very heavy preparation. The invitation means, then, "We are going to be very active for five days. On the sixth we shall drink."

574 614 One principle of Cubeo social structure is that whatever is accomplished on a multisib scale must have its counterpart on the smaller community scale in which household stands for sib. Thus, the five preparatory days are all small drinking parties within the sib so calibrated by degree of festivity—drinking, taking coca, singing, smoking—that each day the festive atmosphere is heightened, so that

when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for 574
the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests 614
who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends.

On the morning of the drinking party the *behòrü* dancing staff 574
is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating 535
that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behòrü* they go to the river to [515]
bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust [823]
through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river.

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The 574
first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. 614
Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the [554]
house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are 574
received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of 576
sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings (614)
are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn [562]
occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the malora yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tia ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [171] [184] [276]

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provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians [521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking [887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversations of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. ● [614] Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihí*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

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Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At an *unkündye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In [533] the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and [614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves [illegible] to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise be[illegible]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza.

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The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not quite sure whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* in Cubeo) has inherent qualities as a love charm—a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly—or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihí*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality.

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A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function"

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend 578
one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult [593]
to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from
regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw [614]
implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel between
only two men over one man's wife can become a maloca-wide
brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's [614]
weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all
come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen [622]
remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties.
Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all [154]
blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which
feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has
not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A 574
man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with 578
the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry 593
husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's
jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the
woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists.
The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man
calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his
daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife
became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband,
pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not
strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this violent 574
flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his 578
wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the [837]
woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing.
The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense,
shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous
husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You
are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the accused
man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he
shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my
father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down.
Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was
weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With
these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All
felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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were exchanged, but the two sibs did not invite one another to their drinking parties for the remainder of the season.

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Sorcery is the great fear. All illness is attributed to sorcery and so are deaths that cannot be readily accounted for. When the drinking party is over and someone has become ill, the quarrels will be recalled and a phratry brother will be charged with sorcery. If the shaman bears out the allegation, the sib of the accused will not be invited to the drinking party of the afflicted sib. In the course of a ten-month stay on the Cuduiarí I have seen drinking parties go through a cycle from full participation by most of the sibs to dismal solitary affairs where subdued members of the sib drank with one another and a few friendly phratry mates from closely adjacent sibs. When the fear of sorcery begins to grow, accusations may strike within the sib and split it down the middle. Gradually confidence is restored, headmen begin to think again of large *unkúndye*, and step by step the scale of attendance mounts.

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534 for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented
114 at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never
769 mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted,
refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since
[773] Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies
as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

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765 The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first
786 three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common
[154] purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the
characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and
solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also
start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual
[536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon
transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the
óyne, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following
day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending
in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate
765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however,
266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion
[775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the
substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is
[614] presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the
deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men
of the sib drink.

765 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual
562 role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear
half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a
six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center
an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what
is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the
men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated
by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of
[786] ritualized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to
be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual
excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the
765 beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as
[776] well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimalwü*) are mournful
and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic
representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its
own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between
mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in 765
the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her 534
consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the 769
initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo [462]
as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies.
Xudjiko, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could
determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikü* are
constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in
the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin
trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated
side by side on low stools.

THE SIB UNITS

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The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* 614
is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express [615]
condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy.
Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within [754]
the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their
innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also [535]
appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity.
As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

ORGANIZATION OF THE *ÓYNE*

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and 765
magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course
with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it.
The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest
dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this
way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional
spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the [182]
segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony [614]
in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur- [615]

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182 ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics,
•614 and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disinte-
[615] grate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized
melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the sym-
bolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing
of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer.
For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the
óyne is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point
765 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for pre-
614 paring a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and
532 for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib
has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is
[203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, al-
though when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his
messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the
purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will
[533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a
[535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted
by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe
[776] that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about
it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor
535 a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general
152 order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of
mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the
ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An
ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of
dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional
level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE *ÓYNE*

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539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

THE MEN'S SIDE

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In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

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The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

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On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenddox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

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As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

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The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks [535]
and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the
house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will [574]
announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their
masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line
along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the 765
others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the 534
trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grandmother." 574
Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on
their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets
sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their
masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A
trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor 765
of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, 533
the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. 534
Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own
higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grandmother"
is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a framework
to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night 765
is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the 535
"grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occasionally
they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the
plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they [202]
enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women
to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the doorway [789]
with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn
they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will
be used for making the *düpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other
paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates 765
who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited 614 •
palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is
brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the
ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they represent
him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the
father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full
Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pendant,
jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations
of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy 765

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765 53 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 614 535 [533] Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle. They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The *Xudjiko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 [535] [789] This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 276 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the women's entrance. After this *mihl* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihl*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihi*. He prepares a quart, which is
considered a great deal.

The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 765
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A 532
completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the
last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies [276]
to *mihi*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273]
lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits
not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also (574)
complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at
the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete
their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives. 765

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of (614]
the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional
Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return [431]
to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the
house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in 576
order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head.
Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his
side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered
dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound
ee ee ee ee followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihi* is
brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not
look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder.
The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes
with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the
first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha
by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted
at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 765
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat 574
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 789
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as
a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards 754
also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes
the early stages of the *óyne*.

After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 765
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765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to apply
[532] personal bodily decorations.
[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later arrivals
are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
765 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by donning
535 their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked
● 614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All complete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house, and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open doorway.
574 Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Máuayo* thrust their long poles out at them and "beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers." Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly
[537] as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short, and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering *iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counterclockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. During this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

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Religion

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. 771
Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, 776
fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekñpwänwa* and 787
Kúwai the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings
and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of
communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific
results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of
body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude 771
must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of relations 571
among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one
neither commands, nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship
that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship
among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific
atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing
of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. [787]
In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seeks to establish a relationship
with a supernatural being.

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in 771
another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and 769
chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them [866]
grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They
are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikũ* they [765]
come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are [614]
invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963

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CUBEO

The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All
the dead of the sibs of a river are joined together. While the individual 775
spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as 615
social entities. The *habökü* of the dead is *Mavitcikori*, grandson of 614
Djurédo, an Ancient of the *Orobauwa* and of other high-ranking sibs
such as the *Hehénewa*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri.
However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about 775
the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent 775
feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have 154
to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, 778
religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kúwai* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

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When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain 824
the swollen abdomen bursts. 682

Yokaihye (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

Pothaiye is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

Dyóka is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me
by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils
of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called
parébohe abúhuwa (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the 754
dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their
deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are (683)
tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each
victim – when they are caught.

Another *ihé* product is *pené*, an ash that comes from a secret site 754
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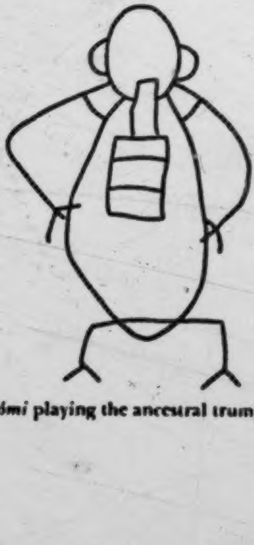

Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet. Alligator (*Pedikwa* sib). [614]

121 count the concern is with the structure of relationships, that is, with the more fundamental principles and patterns of social behavior. In deriving such principles and patterns we are now ready to go beyond those elementary and very general theoretical doctrines according to which culture is an apparatus for satisfying basic human needs. By now this doctrine impresses us as both obvious and tautological. Cultural anthropology seeks a characterization of distinctive cultural types rather than a generalized characterization of Culture or Society. In its recognition of the distinctiveness of cultures, cultural anthropology is close to history in method and aim. In its search for general principles it is close to sociology. The proper route of cultural anthropology, therefore, lies somewhere between the poles of generality and of uniqueness. Thus, in the summation of principles and of patterns that I am about to present, my aim is to find a level of analytic abstraction that is specific enough to characterize and to identify the Cubeo and yet has enough generality to provide a basis for identifying the broader sociocultural type to which the Cubeo may belong. The justification for a level that is between the generalizing and the particularizing is that it offers promise of greater analytic refinement than a level at either pole. The problem is to move as closely as possible to the ultimate uniqueness of a cultural configuration without losing the capability for comparative study. After all, one can profitably move up the scale from the particular to the general, but there is no good way of moving down. The aim of the present analysis, therefore, is to depict what is specifically Cubeo and yet allow bases for two successively broader typological characterizations, namely, tropical forest economies of South America and "simple" horticultural economies in general.

LINKAGE AND AUTONOMY

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With respect to social structure, the most fundamental Cubeo principle involves a relationship between the apparent opposites of linkage and of autonomy. That is to say, the Cubeo will find a way to assert their independence of each group of which they are a part. The clearest example of this principle is the relationship between phratry and sib. What this relationship brings out is not an antagonism between opposing principles of collectivism and of individualism but rather a complementarity. The phratry does not impede the autonomy of the sib. On the contrary, it fosters this autonomy. It does so by fostering a strong sense of sib identity; for the consciousness of sib identity is actually heightened by the enforced relationship of

sibs with one another, particularly in ceremony. Since the phratry 571
represents a fraternal federation, promoting peace and security, the 614
political and economic autonomy of a small and therefore potentially 615
weak segment encounters no additional external threat. Thus, as we have seen, the phratry, by providing a zone of peace and security, facilitates sib fission, which may be regarded as a still further development of autonomy.

For the Cubeo, autonomy and linkage are equally strong attrac- 571
tions, and I think it is fair to say that they cannot visualize one without the other, or one as stronger than the other. The compulsions to form and to proliferate linkages are balanced, so to speak, by provisions for maintaining the identity and the potential autonomy of each component segment. No linkage is established that will interfere with autonomy, and, in fact, many linkages are established for
the purpose of providing greater autonomy. Ceremonial friendship [572]
is a case in point, illustrating the way in which a self-initiating and hence autonomous paired relationship grows out of and complements, as well as extends, patterned relationships that have traditionally been established by kinship and by sib membership. In viewing Cubeo social structure, one is inclined to suspect that when relationships have become too solidly established, a way is found to as-
sert the autonomous complement of that relationship. The striking [615]
oscillation between phratric solidarity and sib isolationism observed [614]
in the drinking parties may perhaps also be attributed to this very strong Cubeo tendency to assert autonomy wherever collectivism looms large. We shall return to oscillation as another principle of Cubeo social structure. At this point, we may review the principal linkage-autonomy relationships that have been described for the Cubeo. The following relationships are included, going from the largest to the smallest segments and fragments of segments.

1. *Tribe-phratry.* This is not an actual but only a potential rela- 571
tionship, since the Cubeo tribe has virtually no structural signifi- 615
cance. If the principle that we have described as to the nature of linkage-autonomy is correct, it would follow that if the tribe were ever activated as a sociopolitical entity, the phratries would emerge as even stronger entities. This, however, is only an academic speculation. More pertinent is the hypothesis that the Cubeo phratry is weak because it lacks a higher, a more collective, counterpart against which to assert itself.

2. *Sib-phratry.* In this relationship we see the classic statement of 571
linkage-autonomy. The phratry as the collective entity heightens the 614
significance of the sib as the autonomous counterpart. The implica- [615]

571 614 tion of this statement would be that the development of the sib organization out of perhaps some more amorphous form of patrilineal, patrilocal organization is to be attributed to the process of federation itself. That is to say, by confronting a series of equivalent segments, each segment undertakes to assert its own clear identity. A sib, after all, is a unilinear descent group that has undertaken to differentiate itself categorically from like groups by means of such obvious symbolic devices as a name, a common tradition, and a theory of common descent. In the absence of federation this process of categorical self-identification would probably not occur. The process of sib formation, as a consequence of federation, is alleged in this instance for the Cubeo only. It may, however, prove to be a more general process. Elsewhere in the tropical forest the clan organization (parallel to the Cubeo sib) is associated with moieties. The apparent exception of the Witotoans is in all probability simply a matter of incomplete information.

571 614 621 3. *Independents and Satellites.* It is at this social level that the issues of linkage-autonomy can be most readily analyzed. From the standpoint of those who have removed themselves some distance from the sib, the issue is simply that of autonomy with its counterpart, a circumspectly defined linkage to the main body of the sib. The issue of autonomy arises specifically in relation to the authority of the headman, limited though such authority may be. The Satellites and Independents do not disengage themselves from the sib; they are content simply to assert their autonomously considered degree of independence from the headman. The differentiated form of the Satellite and Independent house may be a practical expedient for building a small house. Nevertheless, it does illustrate graphically the point of linkage-autonomy, since the square house, as has been demonstrated, does not meet the requirements for total autonomy with respect to sib functions.

571 592 614 4. *Sib-household.* The household, as has been demonstrated, has its clearly defined zone of autonomy. It has its own compartment in the maloca; it prepares its own food; it has its own manioc plantation; and it contributes its identified share of the chicha to both intrasib and intersib drinking parties. No one who has lived any time at all among the Cubeo can fail to be acutely aware of the assertion of autonomy, within the context of linkage, of each household. A sib-lineage and a lineage-household relationship along the linkage-autonomy gradient did not emerge clearly enough in my study to be included in this discussion.

592 571 5. *Patrilocal household–wife.* The demand of a newly wed wife for

her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage- 592
autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's 571
assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her [593]
labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her
mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relation-
ship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys 571
attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in 561
economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of
detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play
pack.

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, 571
may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more 592
distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties
between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage
and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart.

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to 571
grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to 614
cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear 615
that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great 621
satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring
together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some
appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for
its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that
it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that
one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes
upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are
not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or tradi-
tions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective author-
ity. The headman may be charged with holding the community
together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, 571
the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual 621
body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is [622]
that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the
calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal [856]
magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of cor- [769]
poreal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the
value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual [553]
power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo
magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in
such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that
the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their

571 (621) main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favor autonomy over linkage.

It is evident that the foregoing discussion of linkage-autonomy is in many respects simply a restatement of the familiar concept of segmentation. There are, however, significant differences that justify the use of other terminology. Segmentation as defined by Nadel (1953, p. 177) refers to a more limited set of relationships than have been included here. As an example of segment he describes a "hierarchical structure being arranged in an order of progressive inclusiveness, as lineages, for example, build up clans, and clans build up a tribe, or as several village communities form a district, and several districts the state. . . ." From the standpoint of this definition, Cubeo society is, of course, segmentary. The concept of segmentation, however, is purely objective, and as such is pertinent to the purposes of social anthropology. However, the term "segmentation" carries no cultural connotations, since it does not define the point of view of the members of the culture. Therefore it is inadequate for the aims of cultural anthropology. The concept of linkage-autonomy, on the other hand, expresses a cultural, a Cubeo, point of view and indicates how this point of view is embodied in social structure. This Cubeo point of view, which places a value both upon extending relationships and maintaining autonomy, goes beyond the structural patterns that are commonly included under the concepts of segmentation. It is a more inclusive concept.

LATERAL AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

All social structures are regulated by bonds of relatively equivalent status relationships, as well as by bonds of nonequivalent or unequal status relationships. The former, existing on roughly the same social plane, are called lateral, and the latter, existing on different social planes, are called hierarchical. Hierarchy is always a culturally defined term and represents a clear-cut distinction of relative worth. Lateral is also a culturally defined term, but laterality is not a clearly set relationship of status equivalence. Hence it must be modified by the adjective "relative." The ranking of sibs is a clear example of hierarchy among the Cubeo, whereas kinship relations, including ceremonial friendships, are lateral. However, since kinship relations also embody formal principles of hierarchy, such as generation, seniority, consanguinity, and affinity they are lateral only by contrast with the strongly hierarchical distinctions of authority, power, pres-

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tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these 571
two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very 602
strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of 554
sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers
prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic
privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights.
But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction.
Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight.
In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect
and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige
point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon
formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all 571
relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in
dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon
the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect.
Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The
ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel
has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of
the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since [615]
the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a
"higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one
another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such
as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming
new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures,
on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority
of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo
household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences
than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable
principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It [614]
involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. [615]
Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political
constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change
phratric affiliation.

FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there 571
follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social 621
structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body.
The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

571 621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

PERIODICITY

571 614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds (574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by (621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps (615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol- 571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to 152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans- (578) formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihl*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moderate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a
273 similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

The relationship between the patterns of calm-frenzy and linkage-autonomy appears also in the juridical area. Here, as we observed, justice is carried out not in an atmosphere of calm deliberation but in an atmosphere of high excitement, as befits a situation in which the collectivity of the sib has been broken both by commission of the crime and by the act of expelling the offender. The juridical is not a ritual area. The example, however, demonstrates the continuity of ritual polarity-complementarity with a more general patterning of mood.

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PATTERNING OF MOOD

The point has been made repeatedly that the Cubeo will undertake no significant action unless the mood is appropriate. The previous example of the juridical process is illustrative. Punishment or vengeance must correspond with appropriate anger. Ritual acts and dances are omitted when the mood is wrong. All collective enterprises of the sib, such as hunting, fishing, foraging, and housebuilding, require a mood of geniality. When such a mood begins to break, a fairly rapid chain reaction ensues. The sense of collectivity weakens and this, in turn, darkens the mood. This cycle of mood periodicity has been discussed in the context of the drinking party. In a different context it applies to other major collective efforts such as housebuilding, which also follows a cyclical rhythm of spurts of work alternating with lulls. The fishing cycle is still another example of Cubeo dependence on mood.

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OVER-ALL PATTERN

Some examples of linkage of smaller patterns have been presented to suggest at least the possibility of describing Cubeo society in some broader and more inclusive terms. The problem, however, is that the concept of pattern is a hypothetical construction based upon calling of attention to analogies or parallelisms. The method of pattern construction is largely intuitive and the demonstration of its validity is largely a matter of presenting a credible argument. Despite these self-evident scientific shortcomings there can be little doubt that the presentation or analysis of a culture without the concept of pattern must involve a serious distortion of reality. The aim of a theoretical construction that would present a culture in terms of over-all pattern is to provide appropriate bases for a more sophisticated culture typology than anthropology presently possesses. Pattern need

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the scientific
571 value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general
cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is
a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a
real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern
should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around
this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship
and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers
concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all
other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor,
the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically
lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly
a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect
upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate
the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather
to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the
roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed
a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range
of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship,
lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the
elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure
to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity,
then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as
"simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is
only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity
relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the
male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of
emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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619 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission
and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the
disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are
606 stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of ex-
607 change marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it
593 draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister
[583] and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the
[616] mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the
Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geo-
[582] graphic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as
● [614] well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent
antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that
tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to
loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively sub-
615 stantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood
kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and
there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest.
571 Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony
614 and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of
578 wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force
[615] of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the
Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of
[754] sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

safeguards sib solidarity. On the other hand, when the disputants 571
are of different sibs it is relatively easy for the issue to embroil the 614 ●
sibs as entities and correspondingly difficult to confine the issue to 578
the actual principals. The fiction of phratric consanguinity notwithstanding,
the sib is still, in Cubeo thought, a natural unit that holds
within itself the constant potentiality of antagonism toward the fellow
sib. The fact that each sib arrives at a drinking party or other
ceremony armed and as a unit is the symbolic expression of latent
antagonism. The ritual theme of dissolving the semblance of sib
unity through intoxication is presumably counteractive to sib solidarity
and antagonism. Yet this counteraction via intoxication contains
the paradox of bringing the undercurrents of antagonism to the surface.
To be sure, when a quarrel occurs in the late stages of a drinking
party it often is isolated because the other sibmen may not be fully
aware of what is going on. The safety device does work, to a degree
and for a time. Moreover, some men are known to be quarrelsome
by temperament and are consequently ignored. Granted all these mitigating
circumstances, it is easy for a man to involve his own sib in
a dispute with another. When illness and death occur, one conclusion
is inevitable. That is found in the expression "*they* want *us* to
die." This theme recurs in the funeral orations. Perhaps it is because
the Cubeo sibs have a history of separate though related origins and
a tradition of past antagonisms that present-day intersib hostility
can flare, and is expected to flare, even though the issues that disturb
them are, at bottom, trifling. However, in conformity with the minor
nature of the disputes is the absence, in recent times, of intersib warfare.
The disputes result in coolness and social distance and not
in organized fighting. In summary, phratric unity is readily disturbed
but never very seriously. It is restored by the process described under
"Periodicity." It is because the issues are not irreconcilable that the
social "governor" that restores peace by separation can work so well

The orbit of the sib has the same general form as the orbit of the 571
phratry, with the formal difference that the sib has a leader whereas 614
the phratry has no leadership at all. In the sib, moreover, all the ties 615
are substantially firmer than in the phratry. Since the cultural
view holds that sib unity is a natural expectation and since there are 578
no important issues dividing sibmates, we are faced with a truly difficult
theoretical problem in accounting for sib fission. The common 571
explanation, that fission of local groups in simple societies is due 578
simply to insufficiency of food in the immediate locality, does not 182
apply to the Cubeo, who, at least in modern times — a period of population
decline — are not confronted by land shortage. There is, in (114)

571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a complex
[182] one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together.
[857] They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken — and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
● 614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the prevalence
578 of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordinarily
831 wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship? Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always
837 the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

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571 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
837 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
593 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
[562] acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[554] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a
more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its 571
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 614
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. 578
That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal
with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the [622]
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish-
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only [627]
with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the diffi-
culty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The [626]
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti-
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well [622]
equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood [illegible]1
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkag[illegible] [illegible]14
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structur[illegible] 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

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● 614 and children, circulate from community to community attaching
593 themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear
621 family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or
571 as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalanc-
[619] ing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest sug-
[615] gestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

121 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural.
174 It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In
[614] historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the
[615] allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through polit-
[648] ical and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

551 / nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an
752 accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his
hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the
[123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and
picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un-
753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often
convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his
relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of
[123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when
Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con-
756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on
123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in
the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed
with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*.
[775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked
away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the
spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no
indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the 614
small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region.

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the house- 592
hold. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to 622
move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual
power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did
more or less exactly as he pleased.

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a 756
spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil
spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the [766]
person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart,
he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this
sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks.

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. 163
Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian
forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship
at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The nor- 844
mal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal.
Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil 847
to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the
water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the 845
second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one
child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In
some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower
areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence.

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we 866
were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close
to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that 841
this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in 844
the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps 171
the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more.

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. 796
At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets
full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to [562]
the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain
while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought
Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him,
they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like

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[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua geral*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.